

DUPLICAT

ANNALS of WYOMING

51. 12

January, 1940

No. 1



WINTER AT WYOMING'S STATE CAPITOL

1940



Published Quarterly
by

The Wyoming Historical Department
Cheyenne, Wyoming

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Published Quarterly
by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
GLADYS F. RILEY
State Librarian and Ex-Officio State Historian
Cheyenne, Wyoming

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The State Historical Board, the State Advisory Committee and the State Historical Department assume no responsibility for any statement of fact or opinion expressed by contributors to the Annals of Wyoming.

The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the State's history.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State. The ANNALS OF WYOMING is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the Annals should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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FOREWORD

“Nowhere in all the country do the aeons and cycles of time seem to have indulged in such mad abandonment of freak and frolic as up on this ‘Great Plain,’ where, by the processes of countless ages, it was being fashioned into suitable dwelling for man,”—spake an eloquent orator in declaring the simple fact that Wyoming is “old as the hills.” . . . “Through the early development of our history, while men were fighting, exploring, pushing their way across a continent, Wyoming stood apart—withdrawn into the silence and dignity of an unknown wilderness calmly awaiting the hour of revelation.”

The “hour of revelation” eventually arrived . . . and on July 10, A. D., 1940, Wyoming will arrive at her Fiftieth Anniversary of Statehood. Still young, as rank the ages of commonwealths, she now represents the forty-fourth brilliant star in the blue field of the American flag.

The Wyoming of TODAY is a glorious reality, inviting fullest enjoyment of every precious moment as it comes. . . .

The Wyoming of TOMORROW is an enchanting and enticing Rainbow of Promise, leading the faithful to a rich reward. . . .

But the Wyoming of YESTERDAY—of which countless sagas have been written—is a fascinating panoramic picture of color and romance . . . high-lighted with innumerable episodes of achievement and failure, of danger and daring . . . of life and death.

Across the picturesque stage of the potential Empire—and sharply silhouetted against the illuminated skyline of time—moves a glorified procession . . . covered-wagons and THE PIONEERS! Figures of men and women, framed in the bow-shaped openings . . . wagons creaking . . . wheels turning laboriously along the trackless trail—bringing Civilization!

To these dauntless waymakers—Pioneers living and Pioneers who have passed on over that “One-Way Trail”—this number of THE ANNALS and the three succeeding issues of the 1940 volume, are reverently dedicated, in observance of Wyoming’s Golden Anniversary of Statehood.

Historically minded citizens who appreciate Wyoming and its traditions, have evidenced their willingness to cooperate in the important undertaking of presenting and preserving historical information regarding this great State, by making valuable contributions for this and preceding issues of the ANNALS. These have been gratefully received by those responsible for publication of the magazine.

Wyoming, a huge rectangle, in size the combined area of Pennsylvania and New York, has climbed high on the scale

of progress, socially and economically, since Statehood was attained, a mere half-century ago. Population has increased from less than 62,000 in 1890 to approximately 240,000 in 1940. A tremendous development of natural resources and industrial enterprise has taken place; the value of property has been repeatedly multiplied, and there has been achieved a record of governmental and other civic progressiveness unsurpassed by any other State. The people may view with admiration and satisfaction the advancement which has been made during fifty years of Statehood, and may paint, validly, a commanding picture of developments to come in the most vivid hues of reasonable imagination.

Plans are being made for appropriate observance of this Golden Anniversary, by a committee appointed by Governor Nels H. Smith, and for a state-wide organization for the promotion and holding of celebrations and programs in the various counties and the communities thereof. The committee is comprised of Mr. George O. Houser, of the State Department of Commerce and Industry; Miss Esther Anderson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Mr. John C. Thompson, member of the Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission; and Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, State Librarian and ex-officio State Historian.

Two worthy objectives for this ambitious undertaking are: First, that the citizens themselves may become more historically-minded and therefore gain a new appreciation for the priceless historic values of their State; and second, that the State may attract to itself the benefits of far-flung, constructive advertising.

The historical data and pageantry covered by the programs of the Golden Anniversary year will comprehend not merely the fifty years of Statehood, but that of twenty-one years of Territorial status and the sixty-two years of historical record preceding establishment of the Territory—a total of one hundred thirty-three years.

A State passes but once through a Golden Anniversary year . . . it has only one Fiftieth Birthday! Therefore, under the persuasive invitation of the Anniversary Committee, not only are the citizens of Wyoming beseeched to lend full cooperation to this, the first enterprise of its kind which opportunity has ever offered to the people of the State—but attention of folk elsewhere should be called to the qualities of Wyoming and the boundlessness of the opportunities which it affords. It is but another step for Wonderful Wyoming, on its way to a manifest destiny—the Wyoming of TOMORROW, with its Rainbow of Promise.

GLADYS F. RILEY, *Editor*,

INEZ BABB TAYLOR, *Associate Editor*.

WYOMING

By W. Milton York

I stand and gaze with reverence, on Wyoming's lofty peaks,
Where Time's slow hand carves wondrous things, and silence
almost speaks.

The places where God's creatures roam, the mighty Master's
plan,

No art can paint, or mind conceive, the loom His fingers span.
Each waste place has its uses, as the timeless centuries flow,
I find no place that God forgot, wherever I may go.

Where winds the famous Bighorn, and the North Platte river
flows,

With giant peaks on either hand, crowned with eternal snows.
I see far back to other days, I hear the Bison's tread,
Ere progress blazed the unknown ways, by covered wagons led.
I seem to see the film of Time, the centuries pyramid piled,
His art stupendous and sublime, the mysterious, boundless, wild.
I see sun-crested golden peaks, I hear the call for men,
The coursing water's silvered streaks, the canyon's roaring glen.
I mark the red man's crimsoned tread, the time-worn trails of
old,

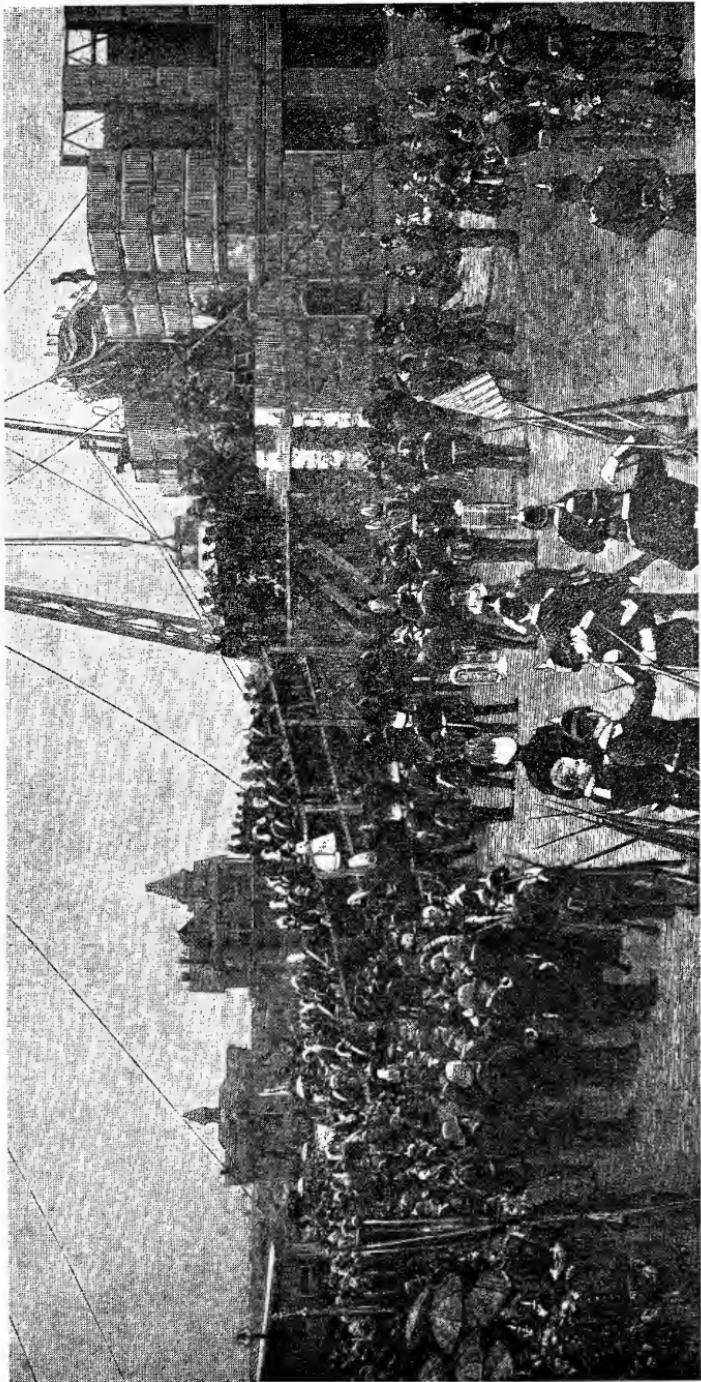
The yellow dust in river bed, the miner's quest for gold.
The arrow's flint, the red man's plume, the mysteries of the
wild,

The pioneer, the Master's Loom, the place where God has smiled.
Now belching stacks besmear the skies, while teeming cities
gleam,

Yet backward still the memory flies, o'er mountain, vale and
stream.

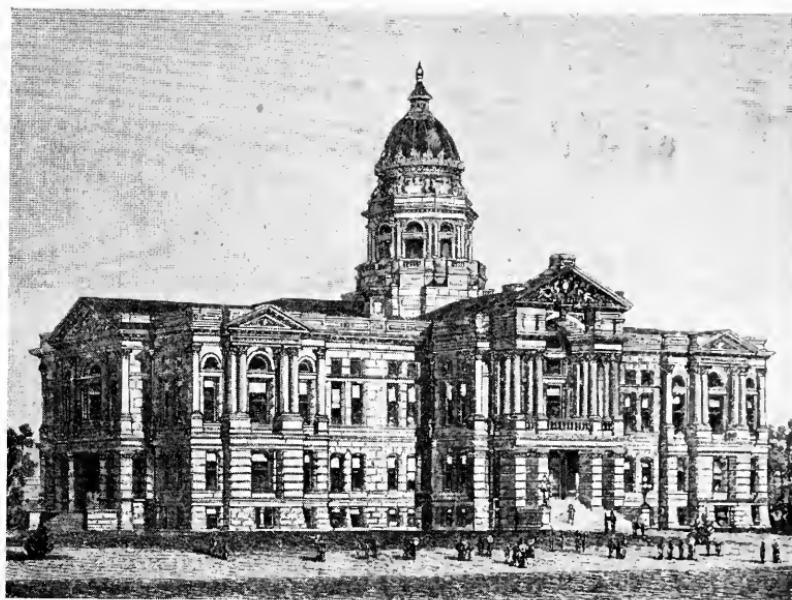
To Indian mounds, and unmarked graves, to time-worn trails of
old,

When white men fought the feathered braves, and delved for
muck called "Gold".



Wyoming Territory—Laying the Corner Stone of the New Capitol at Cheyenne. Note the Suspended Corner-Stone.
Looking West—The Fred D. Boice Residence, built by Hiram 'Hi' B. Kelly, Prominent Pioneer.

From Photo, by C. D. Kirkland.



Wyoming Territory—The Proposed New Capitol at Cheyenne.
From a Photo, by C. D. Kirkland.

“*The Wyoming Territory Capitol at Cheyenne*”

(From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* June 11, 1887)

Under the above headline a story describing the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol building at Cheyenne on May 18, 1887, carried to the world the news of that historic event in the pages of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, in its issue of June 11, 1887. Generously illustrated with pictures made from wood cuts, an art of former days, the weekly newspaper would be referred to in modern times as a magazine. Published in New York City, in tabloid size, it was one of the leading works of journalism of the nineteenth century.

The article describing the ceremony was illustrated with two pictures from photos by C. D. Kirkland, a pioneer photographer of Cheyenne, which, together with the story, are presented herewith:

*On file in the archives of the State Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

"On the 18th ult. the corner-stone of a stately new Capitol was laid at Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, and the occasion was enthusiastically celebrated. The civic, military and Masonic demonstrations were the most brilliant ever seen in Cheyenne. The city was in holiday dress, and the crowds thronging the streets were increased by a large influx of visitors from other towns of the Territory. Governor Thomas Moonlight participated in the exercises, and Judge Joseph M. Carey delivered an eloquent and patriotic oration. The corner-stone contained numerous documents, photographs, and other articles of future historical interest, and bore the following inscription: 'Laid by the Grand Lodge A. F. and A. M. A. L. 5287, A. D. 1887. N. R. Davis, Grand Master.'

"The site of the New Capitol is an eminence at the junction of Twenty-fourth Street and Capitol Avenue, not far from the Union Pacific and Cheyenne and Burlington Railroads. It will be the most massive and elegant structure in the State. The architectural style of the building may be called a modified French Renaissance. It is at once stately and symmetrical. Its outlines and ornamentations, as shown by the architect's drawing, are airy and graceful, and its massive dome will form a fitting climax to its architectural beauty. Its erection was authorized by the last Legislative Assembly, when \$150,000 were appropriated to commence the work. The plans were prepared by D. W. Gibbs & Co., of Toledo, O. The completed building will be 230 feet in length from east to west, and 144 feet in width from north to south. It is set on a foundation of Fort Collins stone, which rises ten feet above the ground. The centre of the building will be pierced by a huge iron tower 152 feet in height, and the rotunda will be carried to the top of the interior of the tower, from which much of the necessary light will be secured. The superstructure is built of Rawlins stone, which presents a beautiful appearance. The construction has already reached the height of the first floor all around. The building will contain forty commodious rooms, exclusive of the basement. The interior will be finished in cherry, oak and butternut. The Council and House Chambers will be 48x70 feet in dimensions. It is expected that the building will be sufficiently advanced towards completion to permit the meetings of the Legislature to be held there next January."

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF WYOMING

By Harry B. Henderson, Sr.

Upon the men first selected for Governors of the State of Wyoming there was a great responsibility. That they accepted and discharged the obligation with fidelity is attested by the records of their administrations. There was a transition of government from a dependency to a sovereignty. The Territory comprising Wyoming, which had been bartered and traded as boys would trade jack knives became a State July 10, 1890. Thereafter a government of the people was set up. The first State election was held, officers were selected, and upon their taking the oath of office, the ship of State was launched.

Governor Warren, the First Governor of the State, served from September, 1890 to November 18, 1890, at which time he was succeeded by Amos W. Barber, the then qualified Secretary of State who by virtue of the Constitution became acting Governor until January 2nd, 1893, at which time he was succeeded by John E. Osborne, the regularly elected governor at the 1892 election. Governor Osborne was succeeded by William A. Richards on the first Monday of January, 1895.

It is a pleasure to present a brief sketch concerning each of these splendid men.

NOTE—This is the second of a series of five articles written for the ANNALS by Mr. Henderson on the Governors who have guided the affairs of the Territory and State, respectively, since 1869. The first appeared in the October, 1939, issue of the magazine and chronicled highlights of the regimes of the eight Territorial Governors. This and three succeeding treatises on the State Governors of Wyoming, for the three subsequent numbers in 1940, represent one of the special features of this historical quarterly, in its observance of the Golden Anniversary of Statehood.



FIRST STATE GOVERNORS

(Left to right, top): Francis E. Warren—October 11, 1890-November 24, 1890; Amos W. Barber (Acting)—November 24, 1890-January 2, 1893; (Lower) John E. Osborne—January 2, 1893-January 7, 1895; William A. Richards—January 7, 1895-January 2, 1899.

Governor Warren

Francis E. Warren, the first governor of the State of Wyoming was born at Hinsdale, Massachusetts, June 20, 1844. His ancestors belonged to the Revolutionary days and strongly advocated American Independence.

Mr. Warren was given the common school education of his community and a course in Hinsdale Academy, an institution comparable to the present day high school. He enlisted in Company C, 49th Massachusetts Infantry in 1861 and served during the Civil War. In 1868 he located in Iowa, and came further west in the same year, locating at Cheyenne, entering the employ of A. R. Converse; later he formed a partnership with Mr. Converse, who was engaged in mercantile and livestock business.

In 1872 he was elected to the City Council of Cheyenne, was a member of the Territorial Assembly, Territorial Treasurer September 30, 1876 to December 15, 1877 and from December 10, 1879 to March 2, 1885. He was Mayor of Cheyenne from January to March 1885; Governor of the Territory of Wyoming in 1885 and 1886, and again in 1889-1890, succeeding himself as Territorial Governor at the first State election held September 11, 1890, when he was elected the first Governor of Wyoming. He resigned in November, 1890, and was at once elected United States Senator, serving until 1893. He was elected again to the Senate in 1895 and continued in such office until his death on November 24, 1929. His Senate service covered about thirty-eight years.

Mr. Warren acquired the stock and mercantile business of his partner, A. R. Converse, in 1878, and at the time of his passing was counted as one of the largest growers of sheep in the United States.

Governor Warren, in his message of January, 1890, urged upon the Territorial Legislature to deliberate with two prospects in view: A transformation from a dependency to a Sovereign State or a continuance of a Territorial Government. He further urged the necessity for transportation, citing that development would be slow unless railroads to remote sections of the territory were constructed.

The Governor, in his message to the First State Legislature said, "No unnecessary offices should be created or continued and the salaries and emoluments of all public officials should be reduced to the least possible limit that will procure faithful and efficient service."

To emphasize his recommendations he again stated in

his message, "It is better to dispense with some offices, provide moderate salaries for the present than to become fettered by indebtedness."

It will be suggested to the mind of the reader that the Governor was counselling from his experience in business. He knew the rule that must be applied in public affairs if expenses were to be kept down and the tax burden made light.

Why not have such doctrine proclaimed now, and the tax burden lessened? It is just as necessary as it was fifty years ago.

Governor Warren also urged the Legislature "to recommend to Congress that the Homestead laws be amended so that the settler could engage in either agriculture or livestock business on a scale that would support his family and bear the carrying charges of the property."

As citizen, Governor and United States Senator—Mr. Warren was ever alert to Wyoming's interests; he not only recommended and urged the development of the State and its resources, but was active in the construction of splendid business blocks in the city of Cheyenne, merchandising, raising livestock, improving ranch properties, the building of the electric light plant, said to be one of the first in the United States; the building of Ft. D. A. Russell, now Fort Francis E. Warren; the incorporation of the Cheyenne and Northern Railway and the subsequent construction of the railroad; the building of the Burlington Railway into Cheyenne, and many other activities which have been of great value to the State. Governor Warren was always progressive and never selfish in his efforts.

The imprints of his hand and mind are indelible in the affairs of this great State. He was one of the few men who attained greatness in the United States Senate and the affairs of the Nation.

Francis E. Warren and Helen M. Smith of Hinsdale, Massachusetts, were married in 1871 and at once established their home in Cheyenne. Two children, Frances and Fred were born to this family. Frances Warren in her young womanhood became the wife of Captain Pershing, now General Pershing. She, with three children perished in a fire at the Presidio in California in August, 1915. Mr. Fred Warren, one of our first citizens, has succeeded to the management of the Warren Live Stock Company.

Governor Barber

Amos W. Barber, Secretary of State, became Acting Governor of the State of Wyoming upon the resignation of Francis E. Warren, the first Governor-elect, and served from November, 1890, to January 2, 1893.

Dr. Barber was born April 26, 1861, at Doylestown, Pa., of Quaker family. His ancestry was conspicuous for its gallantry and patriotic devotion during the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812 and during the Civil War. His father was an important secret service officer during the latter war.

Dr. Barber was educated in the common school of his district, an Academy located at Doylestown and the University of Pennsylvania, where he pursued a full literary and medical course. He was graduated in the class of 1883 and immediately became the resident physician at the University Hospital. He served on the staff of several hospitals with credit and distinction during the following two years, when he was selected to have charge of the Military Hospital at Ft. Fetterman, Wyoming, then located on the Platte River about 100 miles north of the then Rock Creek Station, on the Union Pacific Railroad and about six miles north of the site of the present town of Douglas.

Central Wyoming had rapidly advanced as a cattle country with a cow-hand population of considerable number. There were no towns, neither was there a physician save at Ft. Fetterman. Dr. Barber, during his comparatively short residence in the district, acquired a high reputation among the settlers residing along the Platte and foothill streams for a distance, east to west of approximately 100 miles. He was faithful as well as conscientious in the performance of his professional duty. He was the sole person to determine just what remedy should be applied to the sufferer and how to apply it. Generally, he was not only regarded as outstanding in his work, but in actuality, he was one of the great physicians of the Territory, and was very popular in central Wyoming.

After the abandonment of Ft. Fetterman, Dr. Barber established his office at Douglas and continued his active and large practice in medicine and surgery in the district of which Douglas was the centralized point.

In the nomination of first State officers, Dr. Barber was nominated for the office of Secretary of State and was elected to that position at the September election in 1890. Upon the election of Governor Warren as United States Senator, Secretary of State Barber became acting Governor of the State and continued as such officer until January 2, 1893. During this particular time there was what was termed the "cattlemen's invasion" which was an act on the part of individuals that

brought upon the State unfavorable criticism. Governor Barber requested the President to give to the State, the aid of the soldiers stationed at the military post at Ft. McKinney, Wyoming. The request was granted and soldiers were at once dispatched to rescue the besieged, and arrest the men constituting the invading party. Had Governor Barber not acted promptly upon learning of what was taking place in Johnson County, there doubtless would have been a great loss of men because of what would have been a finish fight between the settlers and the invaders.

During Governor Barber's administration there was trouble with the Sioux Indians who had entered the State, under alleged treaty rights to hunt game. The Governor again acted forthwith in asserting the sovereignty of the State, which was resisted. The subject was eventually determined by U. S. Supreme Court decision in favor of the contentions of the Governor.

The Second State Legislature did not convene until after Governor Barber had turned over the office of Governor to his successor, therefore he did not address the Legislature.

Governor Barber administered the affairs of the State for the two years he was acting Governor as economically as possible. He had a chief clerk, and a second clerk who was also Secretary to him as Governor. There were but three persons identified with the office of Secretary of State and that of Governor during the administration of Secretary Barber. He relinquished the office to John E. Osborne, the regularly elected governor at the November, 1892, election, January 2, 1893.

Governor Barber's term as Secretary of State ended January 1, 1895. He was not a candidate to succeed himself, but preferred to, and did, direct his energies toward the practice of medicine and surgery at Cheyenne. He was outstanding in his profession.

Dr. Barber was regarded not only as a first citizen but was counted professionally as one whose patients were put on the road to recovery because of his sincere and cheerful presence in the sick room. He was medicine to his patients.

In 1892 he married Miss Amelia Kent, a beautiful girl of Cheyenne. Two children blessed their home and are today an honor to their parents.

The good doctor continued to reside in Cheyenne until his death in 1915.

Governor Osborne

John E. Osborne of Rawlins, elected Governor of Wyoming at the November, 1892 election, was born June 19, 1858, at Westport, Essex County, New York. His home was in that district which during Revolutionary days, was very much "Pro-King George." It was The Tory District, largely English descendants. Mr. Osborne's ancestors were greatly in favor of American Independence. He was educated in the common schools of his native town, apprenticed to a druggist in Vermont when fifteen years of age, continued his school work, subsequently entering the University of Vermont at Burlington, studied and graduated in medicine and surgery and moved to Rawlins and began the practice of medicine in 1882.

One of his first acts at Rawlins was to buy a corner lot, erect a two-story frame building thereon, establish a drug store on the first floor, and use the second floor for his office and apartments.

Dr. Osborne was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1883, was Mayor of Rawlins in 1887 and Chairman of the Wyoming Penitentiary Building Commission in 1888.

Dr. Osborne received the Democratic nomination at the primaries in 1892 and at the general election held in November was elected to the high office of Governor.

The year 1892 presented many dramatic incidents. The Populist party held its first National nominating convention. It was a year of "fusion." The Republicans and Populists fused in the South—the Democrats and Populists merged their efforts in the North. In the election in Wyoming the State and Congressional offices were captured by the Democrats while the Presidential electors selected were Republican. Naturally, the campaign preceding the election was one wherein the contestants opposed each other most vigorously. Happily however, when the results of the election were determined, the people forgot their political animosities and supported the officers chosen, one of whom was John E. Osborne of Rawlins, a man of splendid character and ability.

Upon the convening of the second State Legislature the Governor delivered a carefully prepared message covering the affairs of the State, public and private. He pointed out the unfortunate things that had happened in the State and called attention to the courts in which we had confidence, where controversial matters should be settled.

Governor Osborne urged upon the Legislature the enactment of such laws as would be for the best interests of the citizens of the State. He was particularly interested in the

development of our resources and inviting settlement of our lands. He said, "Your attention is called to the need of legislation to assist the more rapid development of our great natural resources and encourage the immigration of settlers to our State. It is truly said 'men constitute the State.' The great need of Wyoming is an influx of settlers and the investment of capital."

In reference to the election of a United States Senator the Governor said, "Out of the many aspirants for this exalted position, having the ability, attainments and purity of character, to represent this place with honor, I have no doubt you will make a fitting selection. I deem it important that such a gentleman should properly represent the sentiments of our State on the silver question."

The Legislature being composed of members of three political groups, and there being several candidates for the United States Senate, there was practically no legislation enacted and no Senator was elected. The Governor was greatly disappointed that the suggestions made by him had not been given the consideration they merited. The panic of 1893 occurred during his administration. Business was at a low ebb, money was scarce and State, County, and School expense, necessarily had to be limited. In reality this became a blessing to the tax payer, because economy was practiced publicly as well as privately.

Governor Osborne, like his predecessor, was greatly interested in his profession. He was an outstanding physician in Carbon County. He also had large business interests which were annually requiring more of his time. At the end of his term as Governor he sidestepped politics for the time being, but later was a member of Congress for two years. He was appointed first assistant Secretary of State, serving under the President Wilson Administration, 1913-1917, inclusive.

The Governor has always made his home at Rawlins where he has large and successful business interests. He is one of the four elected Governors of Wyoming now living. He has a wife and daughter.

Governor Richards

William A. Richards, Wyoming's third elected Governor, was born in 1849 at Hazel Green, Wisconsin. As a boy he worked on the farm and in the shop of his father. At an early age he began working in and about the lead mines near Hazel Green and at Galena, Illinois. During the winter months he attended the common school of the district in which he lived. His parents, Truman Richards and Eleanor Swinnerton Richards, were poor financially and could not give their children a college education.

Mr. Richards was as a boy, quite patriotic and in 1863 made his way to Washington where he tried to enlist in the army. Inasmuch as he was but about fourteen years of age he was rejected by the recruiting service. He made it known that he wanted a job of some kind. He said he could drive and handle horses, whereupon he was detailed to the service of ambulance driver. At the close of the war he returned to Wisconsin and taught a country school for three winters, working on the farm or at the lead mines in the summer. In 1866 he met General Grant at Galena, and the two men became warm personal friends.

At the age of twenty Mr. Richards came west, finding employment in Omaha, later joining a government surveying party, work for which because of his strong body and keen mind he was well fitted. It was during his time in the field that he studied engineering and became proficient as a surveyor. He surveyed the south and west boundary lines of Wyoming, later becoming a writer for Omaha newspapers.

Mr. Richards then went to California and located in Santa Clara County. He married Harriet Alice Hunt in 1875 —was elected County Surveyor in 1879 and had an extensive engineering business. He became ill and being informed he had consumption he trekked eastward in 1881 and located in Colorado Springs, Colorado. He continued his business of Civil Engineering and was elected County Surveyor of El Paso County, Colorado, in 1883.

In the year 1884 Mr. Richards made Homestead and Desert Entry filings at the Land Office on lands located on Red Bank Creek, a tributary of the No Wood, in Johnson County, Wyoming, and in the Spring of 1886 began developing his property and the growing of livestock. The outdoor life incident to ranching restored him to normal physical condition. He was elected County Commissioner of Johnson County at the election held in November, 1886, the west border of the County at that time being the Big Horn River

President Harrison appointed Mr. Richards Surveyor General of Wyoming in 1889, in which office he served with distinction for more than four years. He returned to his ranch at Red Bank in 1893 and gave his personal attention to the development of his livestock business.

In 1894 he was a candidate for the office of Governor of Wyoming and was elected at the November election of that year. He served the State for the full four-year period of governorship, conducting its affairs upon as prudent business principles as those he applied to his individual affairs on the ranch. The State had less than thirty million dollars valuation at the time of his election and the revenues from sources other than taxation were exceedingly limited. Governor Richards insisted that the provisions of the Constitution of the State relative to indebtedness, should be rigidly enforced. By reason of his attitude, public expenditures were kept within the revenues during his administration.

Governor Richards in his message of January 8, 1895, stated: "Perfection in County government depends, to a great extent, upon the wise administration of state affairs." His counsels were reflected largely in County managements.

Being a ranchman and knowing the value of water for irrigation purposes, the Governor discussed generally the subject of water rights, the selection of State Lands and their availability for agricultural and grazing purposes. He urged upon the Legislature such legislation as would promote development of the State resources.

A bill was passed by the Legislature of 1895, approved by the Governor, to promote the growing of sugar beets in Wyoming. Beet-sugar refining plants were exempted for ten years from taxation. This legislation was at once taken advantage of by sugar companies and now, (1940) forty-five years later, more than eleven million pounds of sugar are being manufactured annually in the State, and perhaps another million pounds are manufactured from beets shipped out of the State. This was constructive legislation worth while. The law creating the Wyoming Historical Society was enacted in 1895 and received the Governor's approval.

During Governor Richards' first two years in office he acquainted himself with every detail of State and County government, the economies that could be put into effect and the limitation of indebtedness, all of which are ably presented in his second message, delivered January 12, 1897. He again gives major consideration to the subject of irrigation and its value to the State. The grazing of the Public Domain

is discussed, and the suggestion is made that if such lands were leased at one cent per acre per annum the income would be large. The suggestion is also made that the United States should retire from the public land business.

Governor Richards was anxious that Wyoming provide its quota of soldiers for the Spanish-American War. Request to organize a Battalion was made April 23, 1898: The Governor, on May 10th, advised the Secretary of War that Wyoming's four companies were mustered into service.

Governor Richards was not a candidate to succeed himself, but after his retirement was appointed assistant Commissioner, and later Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, which position he held for several years. During his term of office he conducted the opening of the Indian Territory to the white settlers in such manner as won him national comment for the plan evolved and the fairness with which the allotments of lands were made. Upon retiring from the office of Commissioner in 1907, he returned temporarily to his ranch and subsequently spent a year or more in studying irrigation development in Australia. He died July 25, 1912 in Victoria, Australia.

William A. Richards was one of the plain men who left a large vacancy when he passed on to the New Home. He was one of the great men of his time.



ESTHER HOBART MORRIS
Mother of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming

Born, August 8, 1814, Spencer, N. Y.
Died, April 2, 1902, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

“Men’s due deserts each reader may recite,
For men of men do make a goodly show;
But women’s works can seldom come to light,
No mortal man their famous acts may know;
Few writers will a little time bestow,
The worthy acts of women to repeat;
Though their renown and the deserts be great.”

—From “Pioneer Women of the West,”
by Mrs. Ellet, in 1856.

A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE

By Katharine A. Morton*

For background to any discussion of woman suffrage, it should be stated that the history of the political progress of the world is the record of successive extensions of suffrage to classes hitherto disfranchised.

Prior to the settlement of America, mankind in general believed in the Divine Right of Kings. At the close of the Revolutionary War, only those who owned property could vote. All citizens who were still disfranchised called our nation "a rich man's government." They were not satisfied and adopted as their rallying cry, "a white man's government." This was achieved in 1800 when property qualifications were swept away and for the first time laborers, mechanics and farmers could vote. Class was no longer an issue. Then came the Civil War, resulting in suffrage for negro men. Birth, wealth, race had therefore been successively overcome. Sex, only, remained as the last barrier to equality for all citizens.

Sometimes we think, because suffrage for women came so suddenly in Wyoming, that no general movement for this reform existed before that time. This is not true. The first overt act was recorded over a hundred years ago. In 1835, and again in 1846, women petitioned the legislature of New York for the ballot.

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Katharine (Mrs. Robert A.) Morton, according to "Women of Wyoming" by Mrs. Beach, was born Katharine Ammon in Brown County, Kansas, of pioneer parents. She attended Northwestern University and in 1903 began a teaching career in the Cheyenne schools. In 1905 she and Mr. Morton were married.

In 1918 she was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction and served for twelve years, "during which time the schools of the state made splendid progress" and were accorded a high rating by national educators. She was elected president of the Wyoming State Teachers' Association in 1921.

In addition to her official duties and those of her home, Mrs. Morton also has given generously of time and talent to social and civic interests and continues to take part in various community activities. From 1913 to 1917 she served as president of the Wyoming State Federation of Women's clubs, and during the World War, 1917-1918, she was "the only woman member of the Wyoming State Council of National Defense and acted as secretary of the council."

Mrs. Morton is a longtime member of the Cheyenne Woman's club, and has given many years of leadership service to the Presbyterian Church of Cheyenne, of which she is a member. The Morton home is situated at 319 West Twenty-sixth Street, Cheyenne.

First Meeting of Equal Rights Association

In 1848, Mrs. Elizabeth C. Stanton called the first meeting of the Equal Rights Association at her home at Seneca Falls, New York. No woman's meeting of any kind had ever been heard of before and it was followed by an outburst of jeering sarcasm, censure and abuse seldom witnessed in this country. The press indulged in caricature and misrepresentation. Foremost in directing the attack was the pulpit. Since women at that time were more influenced by the church than anything else, it is a wonder that the movement survived.

To make any unbiased consideration of the question almost impossible was the accepted status of women at the beginning of 1848, when this first meeting of women was held. At that time the English Common Law was in effect. The Law defined the position of wife thus: "The very being and existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of her husband, under whose wing, protection and covert, she performs everything." The husband, also, by the old law might give his wife moderate correction. For, as he was to answer for her misbehavior, the law thought it reasonable to intrust him with this power of restraining her by domestic chastisement in the same moderation that a man was allowed to correct his apprentices or children.

"The Civil Law gave larger authority over his wife, allowing him for some misdemeanors to beat his wife severely with whips and cudgels; for others only to administer moderate chastisement. * * * By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the legal existence of the woman is merged in that of her husband. He is her baron and lord, bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing and medicine, and is entitled to her earnings and the use and custody of her person, which he may seize wherever he may find it."

Right to Hold Property Gained, 1848

But that same year, 1848, saw the first break in the servitude of women, their first glimmer of freedom. New York and Pennsylvania simultaneously, by special statutes, gave married women the right to hold property.

Following that first meeting, in spite of tremendous opposition, the movement expanded. Several states organized Equal Rights Associations and by 1861 the entire nation was aware of the issue. With the outbreak of the Civil War, however, all activities ceased.

Then Mrs. Stanton and Miss Susan B. Anthony called a meeting in New York in 1866. Miss Anthony became a suffragist in 1851 and for half a century was a leading figure. From

that time on agitation for the suffrage was carried on unceasingly. In that year, too, Congress received its first demand for a constitutional amendment. Before this, it was believed the right to vote was an issue for each state to decide for itself, but with the freeing of the slaves, the Association changed its tactics and sought as a much swifter solution a national constitutional amendment.

Wyoming Women Accorded Right to Vote

When there was still only the faintest of hopes in the hearts of women who desired the ballot, Wyoming suddenly granted suffrage to its women citizens.

Esther Morris Given Credit

The chief personal credit for this astounding event is by all competent authorities given to Mrs. Esther Morris. Mrs. Morris was born in 1814 and left an orphan when eleven years old. When still quite young she became a successful milliner in Owego, New York. When she married Mr. Slack at twenty-eight, she was already independent financially. After her husband's death, she came west with her baby. It was then, while settling her husband's estate, that she discovered how unjust to women were the property laws of that time. In 1845 she married John Morris of Peru, Illinois. It was not until 1869 that she came to South Pass City, Wyoming, to join her three sons.

The Territory of Wyoming held an election that fall. On September 2, 1869, she invited about twenty of her friends to dinner at her home. Among the guests were W. H. Bright, Democrat, and H. G. Nickerson, Republican. Both men hoped to be elected to the legislature. Mrs. Morris secured a promise from each of them that if elected, he would introduce a bill giving suffrage to the women of Wyoming.

Mr. Bright was elected and became President of the Council, as the Senate was then called. He remembered his promise and on November 27 introduced Council Bill No. 70, giving women the vote. It passed three days later. It read: "Every woman of the age of twenty-one, residing in this Territory, may, at every election, cast her vote; and her right to the elective franchise and to hold office under the election laws of the Territory shall be the same as other electors."

The House of Representatives acted favorably on the Bill and on December 10, 1869, Governor John A. Campbell signed it. The members of this legislature showed their friendliness to women by passing also a property-rights law similar to those enacted in New York and Pennsylvania.

Tremendous publicity followed the enactment of the equal

suffrage law. Wyoming was accused of passing "freak" legislation by opponents of the measure; was hailed by proponents as having passed the most forward-looking piece of legislation of the century.

But the story of woman suffrage in Wyoming was not complete. Future legislatures might repeal the law. Wyoming was a Territory. The controversy would appear again when the time came to adopt a state constitution; and yet again, when the state constitution should come before Congress for ratification.

Measure Narrowly Escapes Repeal in 1871

The very next time the legislature met, 1871, the uncertainty of tenure of the new law became apparent. The Democrats evidently had believed that women, in gratitude for the ballot, would remain loyal to their party. But a number of Democrats had been defeated and the votes of women were held responsible. So Council File No. 4 was introduced, repealing suffrage. It passed both houses by a strictly party vote. However, Governor Campbell vetoed it and returned it to the legislature on December 13, 1871. The next day it came up for consideration in the Council. There ensued a fiery debate. C. K. Nuckols, Democrat, said, "I think women were made to obey men. They generally promise to obey, at any rate, and I think you had better abolish this female suffrage Act or get up a new marriage ceremony to fit it."

"Women got so degraded," argued W. R. Steele, Democrat, "as to go to the polls and vote and ask other women to go to the polls. * * * This woman suffrage business will sap the foundations of society. Woman can't engage in politics without losin' her virtue. * * * No woman ain't got no right to sit on a jury, nohow, unless she is a man and every lawyer knows it. * * * They watch the face of the judge too much when the lawyer is addressin' 'em. * * * I don't believe she's fit for it, nohow. If those who hev it tuck from 'em now can at least prevent any more of them from gitten it, and thus save the unborn babe and the girl of sixteen."

But Republicans refused to be swayed by this eloquence and the Democrats could not over-ride the Governor's veto. So, in reality, neither party may take the exclusive credit for this advanced legislation. It is true that the Democrats did inaugurate the bill in 1869. It is equally true that they made Herculean efforts in 1871 to repeal the law, acting as "Injin givers"—giving something, then trying to take it back—and if the Republican governor and Republican legislators had not stood firm in the matter, would have done so. So any attempt by either party to take undue honor is balked by the known historical facts.

But Wyoming women could not be sure that their rights in this regard were permanent. Suffrage once granted in other states had not always been retained. Utah women gained the vote the year after the Wyoming law was enacted but, due to problems raised by polygamy, they lost it partially in 1882. Later, in 1887, a federal statute denied suffrage to all women in that state.

In New Jersey suffrage was granted in 1876. A special election was held in Essex County in 1807 to fix the location of jail and court house. Elizabethtown wished to have the buildings located there; Newark insisted they should remain in Newark. The campaign grew abusive; the election corrupt. Afterward it was asserted that all women claimed to be of "full age," worth the fifty pounds required, and many voted as often as possible. In the state legislature it was told that a woman, by name Mary Johnson, came to the polls and voted. Soon, seeming to be a little stouter, she appeared again and voted as Mary *Still*. Later in the day, very stout indeed, she cast her ballot once again, this time giving the name of Mary *Yet*. The legislature proceeded to declare the election fraudulent and to limit the vote to white males. The record does not state that all men were sinless in that election. At any rate, they continued to have the right to vote.

Massachusetts Seeks Advice of Wyoming

The absence of any controversy in Wyoming after 1871 causes one to believe that the people of the Territory came very soon to look upon suffrage as a matter of course. But women all over the country were striving for recognition and in January 1876, Hon. John W. Kingman, for four years judge of the Territorial supreme court, was asked to appear before the Massachusetts legislature to give a brief history of the working of the new law.

He told the Massachusetts solons that Wyoming women were interested in government but were not yet attending political meetings. When discussing any potential candidate, the query now was commonly made, "How does he stand with the ladies?" For men of bad character could not be elected and therefore were not allowed to run. He told of the first grand jury in Laramie, composed of men and women, which indicted nearly every business man in town for keeping places of business open on Sunday contrary to law. The judge was very much embarrassed for if all were convicted practically every influential business man in town would be in jail. So he solved the problem by paroling everybody on his promise to keep the law thereafter. At the first election after the granting of suffrage

a politician of Laramie persuaded one of the lowest prostitutes, with the aid of whiskey, to accost women as they came to the polls. But her encounter with the first woman to appear was too much for her. She left and could not be persuaded to return. Judge Kingman testified that elections were then quiet and orderly, whereas formerly pandemonium had held sway. He assured his hearers that suffrage had come to stay in Wyoming. After his speech, he was submitted to a searching cross examination.

During the 70's and 80's the struggle in other states for the vote continued with unabated zeal. Women entered campaigns knowing they would lose; they presented petitions which they knew would be disregarded or laughed at. Seven thousand women petitioned the Illinois legislature in 1887 for the privilege of voting on the license questions only. A member made a motion to allow the president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to explain the petition. A gentleman sprang to his feet and shouted, "It's well enough for the honorable gentleman to present the petition, have it received and laid on the table, but to propose that the valuable time of the legislature should be consumed in discussing the nonsense of these women is going a little too far. I move that the sergeant-at-arms be ordered to clear the hall of the House of Representatives of the *mob*."

"I met a woman in Grand Rapids, Michigan, a short time ago," said Miss Anthony to the Congressional Committee in 1887. "She came to me one morning and told me about the obscene shows licensed in that city and she thought of memorializing the legislature. I said, 'Do, you cannot do anything else; you are helpless; but you can petition. Of course they will laugh at you.' Notwithstanding, I drew up a petition and the lady carried it to the legislature. They read it, laughed at it and laid it on the table; and at the close of the session, by a unanimous vote, they retired in a solid body to witness the obscene show themselves. After witnessing it, they not only allowed the license to continue for that year, but they have licensed it from that day to this, against all the protests of the petitioners."

The ballot truly means power. Contrast these two incidents with the post card barrage in 1937 and 1939 by Wyoming women against the Bill permitting open gambling. In neither instance did the legislature openly call women a *mob*. Neither did it laugh at the deluge of post cards expressing the opinions of women. And although very influential interests lobbied for the Bill, it did not pass.

Whether Women Are "Persons," Questioned

But in the 80's women had no standing under the law. "I ask you for the ballot that I may decide what I am," said Mrs. Mary Seymour Howell before the Congressional Committee. "I stand before you, but I do not know whether I am legally a 'person' according to the law. It has been decided in some states that we are not persons. In the State of New York, in one village, it was decided that women are not inhabitants. I should like to know whether I am a person, whether I am an inhabitant, and above all, I ask you for the ballot, that I may become a citizen of this great Republic."

It is illuminating indeed to peruse the proceedings in Congress on the Woman Suffrage Amendment during this period. Besides the speeches by Senators, leaflets and pamphlets written by both men and women containing arguments against the measure were introduced into the records. The discussions reflected the social customs of the time and the tremendous handicaps under which those favoring the ballot had to labor.

Ludicrous Arguments Fifty Years Ago

Reading the arguments more than fifty years later, most of them seem amusing and ridiculous. But it must be remembered that they were advanced, not by ignorant men, more prejudiced than the average, but by the dignified Senators, themselves. Here are some of them:

Women are already represented by husbands, fathers and sons.

"Woman has been elevated to a higher sphere, where as an angel, she has attributes which render the possession of every day powers and privileges non-essential, however mere men themselves may find them indispensable to their freedom and happiness."

The state is an aggregate of families duly represented at the ballot-box by their male head.

Woman hasn't sound judgment or moral excellence as compared to man.

"If women were to be considered in their highest and finest estate as merely individual beings, and if the right to the ballot were to be conceded to man as an individual, it might perhaps be logically argued that women also possessed the inherent right to vote. But from the oldest times and through all history of the race has run the glimmer of an idea, more or less distinguishable in different ages and under different circumstances, that neither man nor woman is, as such, individual; that neither being is of itself a whole, a unit, but each requires to be supplemented by the other before its true structural integrity can

be achieved. Of this idea, the science of botany furnishes the most perfect illustration. Two plants are required to make one structurally complete organization. Each is but half a plant, an incomplete individual in itself. The life principle of each must be united to that of the other; the twain must indeed be one flesh before the organization is either structurally or functionally complete."

(The minority of the committee must have felt very groggy after that argument. But, rallying, it made reply. "This is a concession of the whole argument, unless the highest and finest estate of woman is to be *something else* than a mere individual. It would also follow, that if such be her destiny—that is, to be something else than a 'mere individual being'—and if for that reason she is to be denied the suffrage, then man should equally be denied the ballot if his highest and final estate is to be something else than a mere individual. It seems to be conceded that man is just as much fitted for matrimony as woman, herself. But that does not prove that therefore woman should not vote, unless at the same time, it proves that man should not vote, either.")

Husband and wife will disagree and thus suffrage will destroy the family and ruin society.

The duties of maternity disqualify for the performance of the act of voting.

"We are satisfied, therefore, that the pure, cultivated and pious ladies of this country now exercise a very powerful, but quiet, *imperceptible* influence in popular affairs, much greater than they can ever again exercise if female suffrage should be enacted and they should be compelled actively to take part in the affairs of state and the corruptions of party politics.

Ignorant women might crowd to the polls and then the refined and educated women who did not desire the vote, would have to go to counteract the votes of the ignorant.

"Women will want to be President of the United States and Senators and want to be marshals and sheriffs and that is supremely ridiculous. It is unspeakably absurd that a woman, with her sentiment and emotional nature and liability to be moved by passion and feeling should hold the office of Senator."

"But it is claimed that females should have the ballot as a protection against bad husbands. This is also delusive. The husband who compels her to conform to his wishes in other respects would also compel her to use the ballot as he dictates. It would be of no assistance."

"It will bring new temptations to weak women and crowd upon them with great force in ways women little anticipate."

"Under the present circumstances individuality of woman is not brought into prominence; but when the ballot is placed in her hands, her individuality is enlarged and she will be ex-

pected to answer for herself. This will draw her out from the dignified and cultivated refinement of her womanly position and bring her in contact with the rougher elements of society. It will destroy her dignity."

"If the wife and mother is required to leave the sacred precinct of the home, and to attempt to do military duty when the state is in peril; or if she is required to leave the home from day to day in attendance upon the court as a juror and to be shut up in a jury room from morning to night with strange men, * * *; if she is to attend political meetings, take part in discussions and mingle with the male sex at political gatherings; if she is to become an active politician; if she is to attend political caucuses at late hours of the night; if she is to take part in all of the unsavory work that may be deemed necessary for the triumph of her party; if on election day she is to leave her home and go upon the streets electioneering for votes for the candidates who receive her support and, mingling among the crowds of men who gather around the polls, she is to press her way through them to the precinct and deposit her ballot; if she is to take part in the corporate struggles of the city and town, attend to the duties of his honor, the mayor, the councilman, or of policemen, how is she, with all these heavy duties of citizen, politician and officeholder resting on her shoulders, to attend to the more sacred, delicate and refining trust to which we have already referred and for which she is peculiarly fitted by nature? * * * Who is to care for and train the children while she is absent in the discharge of these masculine duties?"

"It is said by those who have examined the question closely that the largest number of divorcees is now found in the communities where the advocates of female suffrage are most numerous."

Senator Vest dragged in the French Revolution and the fact that the women in Paris took part. He argued that American wives and mothers and sisters are not fit for the calm and temperate management of public affairs.

Chivalry, it was asserted, with its refining influence over men, would pass away when women became politicians.

An essay, written by Goldwyn Smith and introduced in evidence, stated, "Muscle, the committee pass over as having nothing to do with the matter. But the fact is that muscle has a great deal to do with the matter. Why has the male sex alone made the laws? Because law, with whatever majesty we may invest it, is *will*, which, to give it effect, must be backed by force; and the force of the community is male. * * * That the tendency of a state governed by women would be to arbitrary and sentimental legislation can hardly be doubted."

The servant problem, as discussed in a pamphlet by Adeline D. T. Whitney, was used by opponents in Congress. Miss Whit-

ney wrote, "Must she go to the polls, sick or well, baby or no baby, servant or no servant, strength or no strength, desire or no desire? If she have cook or housemaid, they are to go also and number her two to one, anyway. How will it be when Norah and Maggie and Katie have not only their mass and confession, their Fourth of July and Christmas, their mission weeks, their social engagements and family plans, and their appointments with their dressmakers, to curtail your claims upon their bargained time and service, but their share in the primary meetings, the caucuses, committees and torch-light processions and mass meetings?"

One timid Senator argued, "It introduces a terrible risk into the life of the state because, once given, it is unalterable. * * * We certainly do not want to find ourselves under necessity of trying to take it back."

Suffrage Law Wins in Constitutional Convention

In the midst of this nation-wide controversy, the Wyoming Constitutional Convention convened September 2, 1889. At the close of twenty-five working days, it adjourned September 30. The Constitution written by this body had to be accepted by both the people of the State and the Congress of the United States. The framers were faced by a dilemma. If they failed to include woman suffrage, the State would almost certainly refuse to adopt the Constitution; but if they did approve that provision, the Congress might refuse the statehood.

The only argument on the question in the convention was whether or not its inclusion should be referred to the people of the Territory. The discussion was well summed up by Mr. Conoway of Sweetwater County, who said, "The sentiment of this convention and I believe of the people which we represent, is so nearly unanimous that extended argument or extended discussion, it seems to me, would be a mere waste of time."

So woman suffrage was thereupon included in the Constitution. But before that happy conclusion much oratory was indulged in, such as this gem by Mr. Coffeen of Sheridan; "Now, let us catch inspiration from the glorious features of nature about us, the grand valleys, the lifting mountains, the reverberating hills, the floating clouds, so lovely above them, yes, let us catch inspiration from the beautiful symbols and surroundings about us, and let us incorporate into the Constitution of this coming State, for which we all hope so much, a clause, giving full, free and equal enjoyment of the rights of suffrage to all."

It is not surprising that after that flight of eloquence, Mr. Conoway finished the debate. The vote was unanimous.

Now comes the last chapter of this narrative. A Bill for Statehood was introduced into the Congress on March 21, 1890. It was committed to the Committee of the Whole House of the State of the Union and ordered printed. The Committee brought in a favorable report. But Mr. Springer submitted the following as the Views of the Minority concerning Article 6, Sections 1 and 2, which dealt with the right of women to vote: "The undersigned are of the opinion that the question is of so grave a character as to require most serious and candid deliberation before the adoption of a constitution containing such provisions. There is no state in the Union which contains such provisions in its constitution. * * * The undersigned are of the opinion that justice to those who are to live hereafter in the State of Wyoming requires that another convention should be held, called under the authority of an Act of Congress and due notice given to all, in order that all may participate in the election of delegates and also in the ratification of the constitution which may be submitted. * * * The undersigned therefore recommend that Sections 1 and 2 of the pending Bill be stricken out." The minority then proposed to substitute provisions calling for another constitutional convention.

Congress would not approve the plan of the minority. President Harrison signed the Bill admitting Wyoming as the 44th State in the Union on July 10, 1890. This ended for all time any question of the equality of women in the State of Wyoming.

But women elsewhere continued to be denied. Three generations were compelled to witness the struggles before women were given even footing with men in matters of government. The world had never seen so prolonged a striving for political freedom, nor one carried on with such dauntless persistency.

It is into the newspapers, punctilious Record-keepers of the Ages, that the seeking chronicler of later days must often delve for those elusive historical facts—and frequently the rewards are great.

FRANK LESLIE'S ILLUSTRATED NEWSPAPER

Entered, April 1, 1882, as a 4-cent Edition, in the U. S. Post-Office, Washington, D. C., as the "Illustrated News."

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Woman Suffrage in Wyoming Territory—Scene at the Polls in Cheyenne
From a Photo, by Kirkland.

WYOMING'S FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY YEAR MARKS HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF C. G. COUTANT

As is true in many instances regarding those whose writings have so profusely recorded the activities of others, there is a scarcity of available information on Charles G. Coutant, eminent Wyoming historian, the hundredth anniversary of whose birth occurs this year as Wyoming celebrates her Golden Anniversary of Statehood.

Several years a resident of Oregon after leaving Wyoming, Mr. Coutant's death became known at Laramie, Wyoming, with receipt of a copy of the Rogue River Courier, Grants Pass, Ore., of which he was editor, and the January 29, 1913, issue of the Laramie Republican, Semi-Weekly Edition, contains an article announcing his demise and giving other information, as follows:

"Mr. Coutant died at Grants Pass at 7 o'clock on Friday evening, January 17, aged 72 years, 3 months and 1 day. Mr. Coutant was stricken early in October while at his duties on the paper of which he was the editor, an insidious paralysis rendering useless his left arm. This and the succeeding mild attacks of the protest of nature to a furtherance of human activities kept breaking down the physical defenses. He was down town for the last time on Christmas day.

"Mr. Coutant was born in Ulster County, N. Y., October 16, 1840, being left an orphan at the age of seven years, spending some years on a farm with his uncle. He went to New York at the age of 14 and accepted a place in a publishing office, later becoming a newspaper writer. He went to California in 1859, where he recorded the story of the golden west for the New York papers, later visiting Old Mexico in the same capacity.

War Correspondent

"During the war¹ he was a war correspondent and in like manner followed the Indian wars. Mr. Coutant went to Kansas after these experiences and came to Wyoming in the early '90s, where he was engaged in newspaper work, publishing one volume of a very succinct and interesting history of Wyoming. The material for the second volume had been largely prepared and arranged, but the volume did not reach the press.

"He was state librarian at Cheyenne, going to the northwest some years ago. Mr. Coutant was a frequent visitor to this city, and in 1902 was one of the most brilliant of the re-

¹Evidently the War of the Rebellion.

porters reporting the Republican State Convention and also at the industrial convention held the following winter in Laramie. He was married on Christmas day, 1867, to Mary Elizabeth Clarke. The children who survive are George Ulmer Coutant of Grants Pass, Mrs. Oliver Messenger of Eugene, Ore., Charles D. Coutant of New York, Mrs. C. W. Gilmore of Washington, D. C., Walter S. Coutant of Grants Pass and Mrs. C. W. Aikens of Ketchikan, Alaska. Mrs. Walter Coutant is the sister of E. S. Gray of this city."

NAMING WYOMING

By Lillian L. Van Burgh

"Come bright little Oming, come with me,
And a warrior's princess you shall be;
We'll hunt through the forests deep and wide
If you will but come and be my bride."
But the princess shook her dusky head;
And waving her hand to the west, she said,
"If you win fair Oming to be your bride
You must find a new home great and wide,
A land resplendent with wondrous thrills
In every canyon and great rocky hills."
So leaving green lands where soft winds blow
They followed the trail of the buffalo
Through lands that were fair, but on they pressed,
Answering the lure of the golden west.
At evening they stood on the rim of the world,
Before them new, wondrous grandeur lay unfurled.
In the far away canyon so wide and deep
Mother-nature seemed lulling all life to sleep.
"Why, Oming!" he cried, as he waved his hand,—
"Here is our home in this glorious land."
"Wyoming," she whispered, "yes, this is our home.
The Great Spirit made it to be our own."
So bright Princess Oming and her warrior brave
To our glorious country, "Wyoming," they gave.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING WRITTEN BY C. G. COUTANT,*
PIONEER HISTORIAN, AND HERETOFORE
UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter I

Laramie County

**Early Times—Fort Laramie—Father De Smet—Fremont—
Buffaloes—The Indians—Laramie County, Geographically
Considered, etc.**

As it is not our purpose in this work to give to the world as history a mere directory or a compilation of "facts and figures" in tabulated form—but a true and correct record of events as they have happened from time to time from the early period to the present day; a proper discharge of this duty requires that a backward glance be taken and that some matters be briefly mentioned that do not relate except in a remote degree to the organization and history of Laramie county.

*NOTE: Charles Griffin Coutant, one of the most talented and valuable men Wyoming has ever known within her borders, left an everlasting monument to himself and a priceless heritage to the State by devoting practically a lifetime to delving into innumerable sources of information and recording his findings regarding extremely early-day trappers and explorers in this region, as well as events and personalities of later times.

Author of *THE HISTORY OF WYOMING*, Volume I, published in 1899, he was the first Wyoming historian to assemble in book form such a wealth of detailed information bearing directly on this State, preceding and during its Territorial days, as is contained between the covers of this 712-page work. Relied upon by research students for its accuracy, the volume, long ago out of print, is now rare and valuable.

The history of Laramie County by Mr. Coutant, here presented, is a section of the data assembled by him for his proposed Volumes II and III, which, unfortunately, he did not live to publish.

In his Preface to Volume I the author refers to plans for two succeeding volumes, and also explains: "I owe it to myself to say that the undertaking has grown on my hands and has become of greater magnitude than was contemplated." He noted that Wyoming, being on the highway "where converged all roads leading across the plains to the territories," made the State the "theater of bloody wars from the time of discovery of South Pass, for more than seventy years;" that while Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado each have histories filled with thrilling tales of the border, Wyoming had to bear the "concentrated warfare engendered in the territories named."

It was to the painstaking task of preparing such a history of Wyoming that he devoted so many years of his life, only to be partially defeated by the advent of ill health and financial reverses.

Mr. Coutant's attitude toward his obligation to accuracy is also

There are comparatively but few people who inhabit what is now known as Laramie County who would at first admit—if so informed—that the ground on which their homes are now reared once belonged to Spain, and that latterly it constituted a part of the empire of the First Napoleon—yet such is nevertheless the fact. Prior to 1804 what is now Laramie county, Wyoming, was but a small portion of that vast extent of territory afterwards known as the “Louisiana Purchase” and which without authority under the Constitution (as he himself admitted) President Jefferson bought of the French emperor for the sum of \$15,000,000. Of the wild, strange and romantic history of this region of country which antedates the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark in 1804, and which goes far back to the days when Old Mexico was but a colony planted by pilgrims, adventurers and refugees from the hills of Castile and the sunny vales of Andalusia, little can here be said, even in a general way. In reference to this, however, it might be mentioned as showing what the historian might show, that there is now standing at Santa Fe in New Mexico a stone building erected 325 years ago—59 years before the landing of the pilgrim fathers at Plymouth Rock. Except in a vague and indefinite way the explorations of Lewis and Clark and of other daring and adventurous men since their time gave the world in general but little information

revealed in the Preface to Volume I, in which he assumes to “make no claim that this history is entirely free from error, but I will assure the reader that every precaution has been taken in its preparation, and, as far as possible, dates, incidents and circumstances have been secured from official reports and from other reliable sources.”

Known as “The Coutant Notes,” the entire collection of data was purchased from Mrs. Coutant in January, 1914, by the late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, another eminent Wyoming historian and author, who in turn sold them to the former Wyoming Historical Society (now the State Historical Department) in July, 1921.

While it is the plan of the Historical Department to offer such of this material as is possible, through the ANNALS, there is a quantity which cannot be made available for general use because of Mr. Coutant’s system of brevity employed in making notes for covering topics, together with the long lapse of time since the data was gathered.

Concerning this point the Second Biennial Report of the State Historian of Wyoming for the period ending September 30, 1922, refers to the Coutant material in the following manner, as applied to certain of the notes: “There are approximately 1,250 brief biographies in both manuscript and notebook form. Many facts can be gleaned from them, although Colonel Coutant’s system of abbreviation and note taking is difficult for others to follow and many of the biographies are incomplete.”

The original Laramie County manuscript, evidently written in 1886 with pencil in ordinary school tablets, has been transcribed verbatim, with the exception of customary editing in such procedure. Frayed and yellowed with age, the tablets themselves are among the most prized items in the Original Manuscript Files of the Historical Department.

—I. B. T.

of what for the past twenty years or more has been known and alluded to by many, as "The Border Land." Within its confines since the earliest date have dwelt savage tribes of various names such as the Sioux, Arapahoes, Pawnees, Crows, Shoshones and others—the first of these tribes being subdivided into numerous bands, bands ever ready to go on "The War-path" against the whites upon the slightest provocation. While it cannot be said that the scope of country now embraced within the present limits of Laramie county was a part or parcel of the actual reservations of any of the tribes or bands of Indians, yet it is true, nevertheless, that this was in part their hunting ground and over and through it they roamed at will for more than three generations, since the time when our government first acquired title to the vast region lying west of the Missouri. During that time with the exception of their war cry that rang and re-echoed across these plains and through the canyons and foot-hills, and the dismal howlings of the wild beasts that here had their homes and lairs, this wide region of country now inhabited by so many thousands of civilized men was naught but nature's unbroken solitude. While farther along mention will be made at some length of adventures and encounters with the Indians, the subject of their occupation and influence upon the country will not be further treated in this chapter. Suffice it to say in a general way that their power and influence is now on the wane and that

"Soon they'll journey sadly onward to that reservation vast,
Which remains for them unheeded when the storms of life
are past.
Soon they'll cross the tideless waters to that dim untrod-
den shore
Where the warpath days are ended and the pale face
comes no more."

A word should here be said respecting the geographical features of the region of country which is now included within the boundaries of Laramie county although in so doing the reference will extend to some portions of the territory of Wyoming not now included in the county alluded to as well as to adjacent regions in the State of Nebraska and the great Territory of Dakota. In the western portion of what is now Laramie county but extending somewhat further westward rise the Black Hills of Wyoming—often, however, for the sake of convenience called "The Foot Hills." This range of hills extends northward from the line between the State of Colorado and Wyoming Territory for a distance of more than 100 miles, at which point they terminate, or rather degenerate, into small isolated clusters of hills

of medium size some distance northeast of the North Platte River. The same range of hills again appears and extends northward to the Montana line and eastward until they merge with the famous Black Hills of Dakota which of late years have been so widely and universally known as a prosperous mineral region. Beyond the North Platte River, however, these hills while rising almost to the dignity of mountains, are mostly in clusters and between them are plains and valleys that are exceedingly fertile, suitable for agricultural purposes in many instances and from the fact that the country is well watered and that the hills and buttes afford protection to stock it is one of the finest grazing countries in the Far West. The greater portion of this region was organized as Crook County in 1884 of which mention will be made in its appropriate place in this work. The North Platte River for the distance of nearly 125 miles flows in a southeasterly direction through what constitutes Laramie County and between that stream and Colorado on the south, Nebraska on the east and the range of hills already mentioned, the country is rolling and well watered. Through this section flow the Chugwater in a general northerly direction, upper and lower Horse Creeks, Pole Creek (called Lodgepole Creek in Nebraska), Crow Creek and Bear Creek all of which flow in a general southeasterly direction except Crow Creek which a few miles below Cheyenne abruptly turns to the right and flows nearly in a westerly direction until it unites its waters with those of the South Platte River. In the northeastern portion of the region last alluded to, there are several small streams which flowing in a general northerly direction eventually unite with the North Platte. In most of the streams within the county fish of various kinds are found in great abundance. The country adjacent to the region alluded to and in the adjoining two states does not differ materially from the region above described.

For many years after the region of country of which mention has been made was first visited by white men it seems to have been virtually ignored by the few adventurous spirits who occasionally paid visits to this country. Twenty-eight years, however, after the exploration by Lewis and Clark the American Fur Company, whose headquarters were then at St. Louis, began to turn its attention to this portion of the Far West and in the Fall of 1832 a fur trading station was established near what is now called Fort Laramie. To this day traces of this early occupation still remain. Aside from a few more or less romantic and perhaps entirely visionary stories of that early period, but little that is reliable can be ascertained of the situation as it then existed in that immediate vicinity. The trading station was kept up, however, for several years although it does not appear to have been a very important one and was not as

widely known as many other stations that were established by the company at about the same time through other portions of the Far West.

In 1838, Father De Smet the Catholic missionary of whom so much has been said and written visited the trading station on one of his western tours, but his visit does not appear to have been a very important one as he remained but a single day. It was during this trip when according to the romantic "gold story" the good old missionary made the discovery that gold existed in great quantities somewhere in the Black Hills. As the story runs, being short of lead with which to make bullets an Indian brought him some "yellow nuggets" for that purpose. The nuggets were gold and in answer to the inquiry of Father De Smet the Indian told him where he obtained them and directed him to the spot and discovering it to be a fact that gold existed in that locality in large quantities the missionary who was ever the friend of the red men charged the Indian never to reveal to any other white man the fact of the existence of gold in their country, as otherwise they would be driven out and the country filled with miners. Years after, Tousant Kensler, half breed Indian, who was in Cheyenne, claimed that he knew the exact locality where this gold existed in "big chunks" as he expressed it and told where it would be found. If Kensler was right the place has never been thoroughly prospected for it is within a day's ride of what is now known as Hat Creek. However, it is not the purpose of this work to speculate upon the gold or any other question.

In 1843, Fremont made his way up the valley of the Cache La Poudre and thence out upon the Laramie Plains, but prior to so doing he divided his command somewhere in the vicinity of the St. Vrains in Colorado. As near as can now be ascertained one portion of his party came directly north and must have passed over or near the present site of the City of Cheyenne. From thence in a northwesterly direction to Laramie Peake from which point it bore to the southwest and re-united with the balance of the command somewhere on the Laramie Plains. This party, however, appears not to have visited the fur trading station, and it is doubtful whether its existence was known to Fremont or his men.

In those early days the country was well filled with game of nearly every kind and variety. The immense herds of buffalo, however, which at that time roamed and wandered at will over the greater part of the Far West did not, as a general thing, frequent the region of which mention has been made, although small bands were constantly passing to and fro across the plains and rolling country which lies between the North Platte River and the northern boundary of Colorado. These animals while

in transit through the locality, were the prey both of Indians and white hunters who made their way from the Missouri westward for the purpose of engaging in their favorite, if not at all times lucrative, employment and during the ten years which intervened between the advent of Father De Smet at the trading station and the time when the "old Overland Trail" began to be used and a few permanent settlers began to pitch their tents along the valley of the North Platte, thousands, yes tens of thousands—of these animals were killed and their hides sold to the agents and traders of the American Fur Company. In addition to the buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, bear, beaver, mink and other game of that sort was found in abundance and the trapper or hunter was "out of luck" indeed if during a single season he could not make enough in his wild and adventurous employment to enable him to drift back to the precincts of civilized life with at least enough for himself and loved ones for the long winter to come.

Beyond the North Platte river and south of what would now be the Montana line the buffalo, though not making such frequent incursions into the country, when they did come would make their advent in much larger numbers and would stay longer. Hence it was that among the hills and valleys of what is now Crook county and between Inyan Kara and Harney's Peak on the east and the Panther range on the west would almost constantly be found large bands of the animals alluded to which were practically at the mercy of the white hunter and the Indian. Between the two the buffalo fared slim indeed—so badly in fact that the particular branch or breed perhaps as the stockmen would say—which for so many years was in the habit of making this region their veritable "stamping ground" became practically extinct and for many years prior to the advent of the whites who came to stay, but very few of these animals visited that country. Not so, however, in the southern portion of what is now Laramie county, for while, as before stated, the buffalo never lingered there, as late as 1874 a small band of these animals passed over what is now the bed of Lake Minnehaha adjacent to Cheyenne and proceeded northward until close to Fort D. A. Russell when apparently astonished at the surroundings it turned eastward and eventually to the south and made its way at a rapid gait back across the Union Pacific track to Northeastern Colorado and was seen no more.

During the period of which mention has been made the southern portion of what is now Laramie county was but little known or visited. It was considered in those days as being a legitimate portion of the "Great American Desert" which was so prominently indicated upon the maps and in the school geographies of those days, and was so considered until the signs of the times began to indicate the near approach of that great

transcontinental line of communication—The Union Pacific railroad—when it at once commenced to have a history and a very important one which will, of course, be mentioned farther along in this narrative.

Chapter II

Laramie County

Fort Laramie—The Overland Trail—A Military Post Established—Perilous Times—Indian Burial—Trees.

For a number of years Jacques Laramie, an old trapper and hunter of French descent and a Canadian by birth, was the agent and manager of the business of the American Fur Company at what is now Fort Laramie. Year after year, while others came and departed, the old man remained at his post and faithfully discharged the duties developing upon him which in truth and justice it must be said were at times not very onerous. During the greater portion of the time there were a few men, mostly of the same nationality, stationed at the post with him and as the company at all times kept him well supplied with tobacco, whiskey and other "necessaries of life" as they were termed in those early days, and as he was at all times on pretty friendly terms with most of the Indians who traded with or visited the station, the old veteran of the plains passed his time very comfortably. About the year 1847, however, times began to undergo a change and from that date forward the region of country around and tributary to the fur station which up to that period had experienced a not very eventful history, had a very serious transformation and was known as the "dark and bloody ground" of the border land.

Prior to 1847 there had been—indeed since 1839—quite an emigration by overland to Oregon which had received the attention of the American Fur Company (which from 1820 to 1850 had for its president John Jacob Astor, its western headquarters being at St. Louis) as far back as 1792, and before it fell into our hands by purchase, a trading station having been established at what is now Astoria, Oregon, during that year. Emigration began to set in across the plains to Oregon as early as 1839, and just prior to 1847 it had begun to drift along in close proximity to, or by, the fur station of which the old French Voyager, Laramie, was the controlling genius. Eventually, many Mormons, who at that time were turning their faces westward, began to drift along, and about the same time Fremont was directed to survey California, so that all things considered the government

decided it wise to station a few troops at the fur station which it did. Two years later, 1849—a permanent military post known and designated as Fort Laramie was established at the old time fur station, it being named in honor of the old man who for so many years had been almost the only inhabitant.

Two companies of troops were originally stationed there, but eventually other companies were sent to the post, so that several times in its history Ft. Laramie has been the rendezvous of large bodies of troops which on two or three occasions have been, temporarily, gathered as preparations have been made for encounters with the hostile Sioux, which in years gone by have been frequent and bloody. No attempt will here be made to give a detailed and specific history of Fort Laramie as a military post merely, nor even a complete roster of the many gallant officers and their commands from time to time stationed there, as to do so would be foreign to the purpose of this work. Only such incidents and events as have some bearing in connection with the history of the country of which Fort Laramie is the center can be mentioned. Not all of them can be recorded here and those which are alluded to can only receive casual notice by the writer.

That Fort Laramie as a military post has a most romantic and interesting history is well known to all, but it must be reserved to some future writer to give it entire. Fort Laramie, it might be mentioned, has had some very able and eminent commanders since its first establishment as a permanent military post among whom Gen. Pat Connor, Gen. L. P. Bradley, Gen. Wesley Merritt, Gen. John Gibbon and several other military men of note might be named.

Although the advent of troops at Fort Laramie in 1849 did not for a long time excite the jealousy of the Indians to such an extent as to provoke them to hostilities, yet it must be recorded as a matter of history that it awakened distrust in their minds and the whole aspect of affairs was soon changed. Besides the army officers and private soldiers who were stationed there, a large number of citizens among whom were a few "hangers on" flocked to the post and were constantly coming and going the whole year round. Some of these men acted very unruly with their red neighbors and by trading with them constantly in the course of which traffic the consideration moving from the grantee to the grantor would not infrequently be what the Indian has always and not inappropriately termed "fire water," the red men of the entire country to the north and east of Fort Laramie, eventually, became more or less demoralized and in time deadly hostile and treacherous. In vain the gallant officers who from

time to time commanded at Ft. Laramie endeavored to put a stop to the sale or distribution of whiskey to the Indians in which effort they were ably seconded by most of the non-commissioned officers at the post, among whom should be mentioned Sergeant Snyder, who by the way was stationed at Ft. Laramie in 1849 and still remains there, never having left his post but once in the thirty-seven years that have intervened. While it was some years before the Indians resorted to actual hostilities, yet it was not long after the establishment of a military post at Fort Laramie before they began to be troublesome and at length it became a very hazardous thing to be caught far away from the military post alone and unarmed. Travel over the old Overland Route, which had now been duly and permanently established via Fort Laramie westward, was seriously impeded and hindered by the frequent degradations of the red men whose enmity took the form of stealing and running off stock. This in time became too tame for them and for some years prior to the great outbreak, which eventually came, frequent murders happened, especially along the Overland Route and at other places where one or two unarmed and defenseless parties could be found. The whole country was in time thoroughly and effectually terrorized and the few adventurous spirits who remained in the country were forced to look well to their own protection, and where comparative safety had been felt prior to the conclusion on the part of the Indians that their country was to be wrested from them, the times became perilous indeed for the Indians did not propose to give up without a struggle the land through which they had roamed so long—which they claimed as their own—and where for more than a century their dead had been buried (suspended in trees many of which are still standing in the vicinity of Ft. Laramie) and from where their kindred had taken their departure to the dim precincts of the far away “happy hunting ground.”

Chapter III

Laramie County

The Sioux Uprising—Massacre at Bordeaux Bend—Battle on Horse Creek—etc.

The great uprising of the Sioux, which began in Minnesota by the massacre at New Ulm in 1863, did not immediately extend as far west as the region of country adjacent and tributary to Fort Laramie but when it did come it was terrible in its results. The hostility of the Sioux began to

manifest itself in attacks on isolated ranches and exposed points, and many were the depredations of this sort that were committed from 1863 to the close of the Indian troubles in 1869. One of the first of these attacks was upon a ranch owned by H. B. Kelly now of Cheyenne and who was then as now one of the leading and foremost men in the county. He had been for some years on the plains, however, and was for a long time connected with the Overland mail service but at length concluded to settle down to a more quiet life and for that purpose took up a ranch not far from the mouth of Horse Creek. He was attacked by the Sioux, his ranch burned and Mr. Kelly himself barely escaped with his life. This seems to have been the signal for active hostilities. Not only was the gentleman alluded to driven out of other localities in which he attempted to locate, but a score or more of others were treated the same way until at length nearly every man in the country was obliged to take refuge at Fort Laramie. The times became so perilous that it was unsafe for a person to go fifty yards from the post unless he was thoroughly armed, even then it was not a pleasant undertaking.

During this time, however, the old overland trail was still followed by parties of emigrants going westward, among whom were many Mormons, and in the summer of 1864 occurred the massacre at Bordeaux Bend on the North Platte River nine miles below Fort Laramie. A party of emigrants who were on their way westward had camped a few miles below the Fort and during the night one of their cows strayed away and was driven off by the Indians. The party hastily packed up and hurried to the military post where they told their story. The post was at that time temporarily in command of a Lieutenant whose name it has been impossible to ascertain but who it seems was a hot-headed impetuous man with more bravery than discretion. He resolved to either make the Indians pay for the cow or give them a chastising and for this purpose took fourteen soldiers and a small cannon and proceeded down the river to where the Indians were camped and at once made a demand of them for payment for the cow. By some means, probably by accident, a musket was discharged. With one fierce war whoop the entire band of Indians numbering nearly 150 rushed upon the little squad of soldiers before they had time to use their cannon or other arms. Not one of them was left alive to tell the story. When the news of the massacre reached the post a strong detachment was sent down who buried all the victims in one common grave and marked the spot by piling high a pyramid of stones over their last resting place. This pile of rock remains there to this day, while the cannon which the Sioux threw into the

river has never been recovered from the watery grave to which it was conjured by the hostile red men. This bloody episode was the cause of great excitement at Fort Laramie and elsewhere as it became known, but it was quickly followed by others, mostly along the Overland route.

Among these depredations was the attempted massacre of a gentleman named J. H. Kincade and his party of three men who were on their way westward on the old trail. This attempt which was partially successful was made by three Indian chiefs, Red Leaf, Long Chin and the third said to be Spotted Tail himself (although this is somewhat doubtful) who with a small party of followers attacked the party killed two of the men and as was supposed Kincade also. The fourth member of the party made good his escape and carried the news to Ft. Laramie from whence a party sallied out to the scene of the murder. There were at this time nearly 200 lodges of friendly (?) Indians camped in the immediate vicinity of Fort Laramie, but their conduct was such that it at length became apparent that they were secretly acting in conjunction with the hostiles. It was resolved to remove them eastward to some point in Nebraska where they would be within reach of the Pawnees who were then, as at nearly all other times, friendly in the fullest sense of the word. For this purpose two companies of Nebraska troops who were temporarily in the service of the government came through on the Overland route to Fort Laramie. There two companies were commanded respectively by Captains Wilcox and Foot. The alarm had been taken by these friendly (?) Indians, however, and many of them had departed ere these troops arrived. There were 185 lodges of these Indians left in the vicinity and these were gathered together preparatory to their removal eastward. The march was eventually begun the two companies alluded to, together with forty citizens among whom was Wm. F. Lee now one of the Justices of the Peace in Cheyenne, all under the command of Captain Wilcox. When the column reached a point well along toward the mouth of Horse Creek the Indians, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, rose against the little party which in all did not number one hundred men, and while they were scattered along the road commenced an indiscriminate slaughter. There was with the party also a long train of wagons which were in charge of Judge Lee, and as soon as the slaughter commenced that gentleman who appears to have been about the only one in the command equal to the emergency succeeded in arranging the greater part of the wagons in the form of a corral in which a stand was made. The Indians were fierce and determined and the battle raged hot for a couple of hours, but at the expiration of that time

the whites having succeeded in quite securely barricading against their foemen and had even thrown up some rude intrenchments, the Indians withdrew across the river in great haste. Captain Wilcox and seven of his men were killed and seventeen of the party including some of the citizens were wounded. Nearly all of the stock and other property belonging to the whites was lost in this fight and after it was over what was left of the two companies made rapid marches toward the Missouri while most of the citizens returned to Fort Laramie and vicinity. The fight above mentioned occurred May 16, 1865.

(To be continued in April, 1940, issue)

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

The first cattle brand recorded in what is now Wyoming was that of Mrs. W. L. Kuykendall, according to "Frontier Days" by her husband, Judge Kuykendall, in 1917, a 251-page book sub-titled as "A True Narrative of Striking Events on the Western Frontier?"

In Chapter 24, concerning formation of the Laramie County Stock Association in the early seventies, of which Judge Kuykendall was secretary, the author makes the above claim and states regarding his wife, that "she brought a few cows and other cattle with her when she and my two sons, then small children, crossed the plains in wagons to Denver in 1866;" that the cattle were driven to his ranch east of Cheyenne "when the family moved to Cheyenne in the winter of 1867."

The first church bell heard in the Big Horn Basin was on the Baptist church at Otto?

The Basin Republican-Rustler, issue of December 14, 1939, calls attention to the above fact in connection with announcement that Mrs. Allie Massey, a pioneer resident of the Greybull Valley, has now made the Baptist Church at Burlington a present of the bell.

The first motor hearse funeral held in the Capital City of Wyoming, occurred on July 18, 1916? The burial rites were performed for Mrs. Benjamin Smalley, said to be the city's first bride, who was married at Cheyenne in 1867, when only a few tents marked the site of the city that was to be.

THE CHINESE MASSACRE

By Paul Crane and Alfred Larson*

On September 2, 1885, whites at Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory, killed 28 Chinese laborers, wounded 15 others, chased several hundred other Chinese out of town, and destroyed property valued at \$147,000 in what has come to be known as The Chinese Massacre. The story with causes and consequences can be followed through a mass of documents submitted to the United States House of Representatives,¹ another set of records preserved in a report evidently authorized by the Union Pacific,² and contemporary newspapers.³

In the background of the riot were bitterness against alleged mistreatment by the Union Pacific Coal Department and smouldering race prejudice fanned into raging hatred by the refusal of the Chinese to join in strikes. Company records indicate that at the time of the massacre there were 150 whites and 331 Chinese employed in the mines at Rock Springs.⁴ Many of the white miners were members of the Knights of Labor, powerful national labor organization, which had worked for the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the United States.⁵

The gruesome details of the massacre which are preserved in many documents need not concern us here, but a recital of the main facts seems to be desirable. The Chinese miners clearly were not expecting any serious attack when the pent up hatred of the whites suddenly broke loose. Early on September 2 an incident occurred at No. 6 mine which precipitated mob action. Four rooms, or stalls, had been assigned to two white miners and two Chinese. The whites went to work in

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¹ House Reports, 1st Session, 49th Congress, 1885-1886, Vol. 7. Report No. 2044, "Providing Indemnity to Certain Chinese Subjects."

² The Chinese Massacre at Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory (Boston: Franklin Press; Rand, Avery, & Company, 1886) Hereafter cited as *The Chinese Massacre*. This is a rare paper-bound volume, 92 pages, 9 by 6 inches, in the University of Wyoming Library.

³ Newspaper accounts appeared throughout the country, but of special value are articles appearing in the Laramie Boomerang, the Rock Springs Independent, the Salt Lake Tribune, the Cheyenne Tribune, and the Cheyenne Sun.

⁴ *The Chinese Massacre*, p. 45.

⁵ Postmaster O. C. Smith of Rock Springs testified that he had no doubt that the support of and encouragement given by the miners' union—affiliated with the Knights of Labor—led to the riot. House Reports loc. cit., p. 12. As will appear later the Knights of Labor organization was certainly involved.

two of the rooms, and put in a shot which they did not fire. The next morning, September 2, when the two white miners appeared, they found that the two Chinese had fired the shot and were working in the room. The Chinese claimed the room had been assigned to them. Evidently the room was a desirable one, that is, one where the coal was accessible and the miners, who were paid by the ton, could make money easily. In the resulting argument the Chinese were beaten and sent home in a buckboard. About a half hour later the white miners left the mine, marched up town and down Front street towards the Knights of Labor hall, shouting "White men fall in."⁶ The word was passed around that there would be a miners' meeting at 6 p. m. to settle the Chinese question. The men dispersed and retired to various saloons. When it became apparent that they were drinking too freely, all stores and saloons agreed to sell no more drinks that day. Various accounts indicate that this prohibition left the rebellious miners quite sober. About two in the afternoon a mob of 150 whites, half of them with Winchester rifles, set out for Chinatown. As shots were fired, the Chinese fled to the hills. An eyewitness in a prepared statement described the scene: "The Chinamen were fleeing like a herd of hunted antelopes, making no resistance. Volley upon volley was fired after the fugitives. In a few minutes the hill east of the town was literally blue with hunted Chinamen."⁷ Some of the Chinese houses were fired. The rioters then went to Foremen Evans and O'Donnell, and told them to leave town on the first train east, which they did.

In the evening the destruction of Chinatown was completed. Not all the Chinese had fled, judging by the coroner's jury reports, which in a number of cases read that the victims "came to their death from exposure to fire."⁸

The aggressors, like the victims, appear to have been almost all aliens. James H. Dickey, in charge of the Beckwith, Quinn & Company store at No. 6 mine testified that they were Welsh, Cornishmen, and Swedes.⁹ Three Union Pacific Directors were quoted in a press dispatch as saying that the attacking party included English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, and Scandinavians.¹⁰ The Chinese Consul at San Francisco, who held an investigation at Rock Springs, wrote that not one of the attackers was a native of this country, many had resided

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14. Report of Ralph Zwickly, Manager of Rock Springs Store of Beckwith, Quinn & Company.

⁷ House Reports, loc., cit., p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

in the United States less than a year, and only a small number were naturalized citizens."¹¹ The names of the attackers were never published. The grand jury of Sweetwater County brought in no indictments. It reported:

We have diligently inquired into the occurrence at Rock Springs on the 2d day of September last, and though we have examined a large number of witnesses, no one has been able to testify to a single criminal act committed by any known white person that day. Whatever crimes may have been committed, the perpetrators thereof have not been disclosed by the evidence before us; and, therefore, while we deeply regret the circumstance, we are wholly unable, acting under the obligation of our oaths, to return indictments. We have also inquired into the causes that led to the outbreak at Rock Springs. While we find no excuse for the crimes committed, there appears to be no doubt of abuses existing that should have been promptly adjusted by the railroad company and its officers. If this had been done, the fair name of our Territory would not have been stained by the terrible events of the 2d of September.¹²

Meanwhile order had been restored and the Chinese had been brought back to Rock Springs. Most of those who escaped the massacre had walked west along the railroad toward the town of Green River. The railroad company telegraphed to its conductors to pick up the Chinese along the line, both east and west of Rock Springs, and carry them to Evanston.¹³ There was strong feeling against the Chinese at Evanston and at Almy, near Evanston, but the arrival of troops forestalled a possible repetition of the massacre. Governor Warren of Wyoming Territory appealed to President Cleveland on the 4th of September, as follows:

Evanston, Wyoming, 4th. Unlawful combinations and conspiracies exist among coal-miners and others, in the Uintah and Sweetwater Counties in this Territory, which prevents individuals and corporations from enjoyment and protection of their property, and obstruct execution of laws. Open insurrection at Rock Springs: property burned; sixteen dead bodies found; probably fifty more under ruins. Seven hundred Chinamen driven from town.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹² *House Reports*, loc. cit., p. 25.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Cf. *The Chinese Massacre*, pp. 4, 52-53, and Beard, Frances Birkhead, *Wyoming From Territorial Days to the Present*, Vol. I, p. 373.

and have taken refuge at Evanston, and are ordered to leave there. Sheriff powerless to make necessary arrests and protect life and property, unless supported by organized bodies of armed men. Wyoming had no territorial militia; therefore I respectfully and earnestly request the aid of the United States troops, not only to protect the mails and mail-routes, but that they may be instructed to support civil authorities until order is restored, criminals arrested, and the suffering relieved.¹⁴

A few days later Governor Warren telegraphed the President again:

Referring to my several late telegrams, I respectfully submit that the unlawful organized mob in possession of coal-mines at Almy, near here, will not permit Chinamen to approach their own home, property, or employment. From the nature of the outbreak, sheriff of county cannot rally sufficient posse, and territorial government cannot sufficiently aid him. Insurrectionists know, through newspapers and dispatches, that troops will not interfere under present orders; and moral effect of presence of troops is destroyed. If troops were known to have orders to assist sheriff's posse in case driven back, I am quite sure civil authorities could restore order without actual use of soldiers. But unless United States Government can find way to relieve us immediately, I believe worse scenes than those at Rock Springs will follow, and all Chinamen driven from the Territory. I beg an early reply and information regarding the attitude of the United States Government.¹⁵

The difficulty of securing troops is told in a long series of telegrams quoted in the Union Pacific report and the House of Representatives documents.¹⁶ Troops finally arrived from Camp Murray, Utah Territory,¹⁷ and escorted the Chinese back to Rock Springs on the 9th, just a week after the massacre. The press west of the Missouri objected strenuously.¹⁸ The Rock Springs Independent tossed the gauntlet to the Union Pacific:

¹⁴ The Chinese Massacre, p. 2.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 63-69, and House Reports, loc. cit., p. 18.

¹⁷ Apparently there were also some troops from Fort Steele. The Chinese Massacre, p. 14.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 7 ff.

The action of the company in bringing back the Chinese means that they are to be set to work in the mines, and that American soldiers are to prevent them from being again driven out.

It means that all white miners at Rock Springs, except those absolutely required, are to be replaced by Chinese labor.

It means that the company intend to make a "Chinatown" out of Rock Springs, as they proposed to the Almy miners last Monday.

It means that Rock Springs is killed, as far as white men are concerned, if such a programme is carried out.

How do our miners and how do our business men like the situation, and what are they going to do about it?

There is but one thing to do: miners, merchants, and railway employes must unite as one man against such a high-handed proceeding. It is a matter in which every business man and every working man along the line of the Union Pacific is concerned.

If the labor organizations of Colorado and Wyoming, backed up by the business interest and public sentiment and public press of the country, cannot enforce their demand that the Chinese must go, we are much mistaken as to their strength.

Neither the labor organizations nor public sentiment will uphold the brutal murder of the Chinese last week. The punishment of these crimes is within the province of the civil authorities, and they will not be molested in the prosecution of their duties. But innocent men with their families, and the business interest of Rock Springs, must not be allowed to suffer through the avenging spirit of the Union Pacific Railway. Let the demand go up from one end of the Union Pacific to the other, THE CHINESE MUST GO.¹⁹

The spear-head of opposition to the employment of Chinese was the Knights of Labor association. This national organization was growing very rapidly in the 1880s. At the end of 1878 the membership was only 9,287. At the end of 1883 the membership was 51,914. By 1886, at the peak of its power, its membership had risen to 700,000.²⁰ The National organization had worked for the passage of the Chinese Exclu-

¹⁹ The Chinese Massacre, p. 15.

²⁰ Hacker, L. M. and Kendrick, B. B. The United States since 1865, pp. 226-227.

sion Act in Congress in 1882.²¹ Its activity in Rock Springs seems to go back to 1883.²²

Was sentiment along the line of the Union Pacific, coupled with the organized effort of the Knights of Labor, powerful enough to force the Union Pacific to abandon Chinese labor? Was the Union Pacific justified in bringing in Chinese laborers in the first place? Before these questions are answered, it may be well to review briefly the conflict over Chinese labor from its beginning.

Chinese migration to the United States began with the California gold discovery in 1848. White men busy looking for gold were glad to leave menial tasks to the Chinese. Congress prohibited the importation of Chinese coolies in 1862, but many were brought in for construction work on the Pacific railways. As more white laborers migrated to California, trouble with the Chinese developed. Although there was some anti-Chinese feeling in California, the United States Government ignored this and signed the Burlingame Treaty with China in 1868. Most-favored-nation treatment was granted to Chinese subjects in the United States, although they were denied the right of naturalization. Friction in California continued. This led to the modification of the Burlingame Treaty in 1880 to the extent that China recognized the right of the United States to regulate, limit, or suspend Chinese immigration whenever it was deemed necessary. In 1882 under the terms of this treaty Chinese immigration was suspended for ten years.²³ Later this exclusion became permanent.

In Wyoming Territory friction between whites and Chinese came later than in California. The mines at Rock Springs had been worked exclusively by whites until 1875 when a strike occurred. Spokesmen for the Union Pacific contended that the white miners were most unreasonable in their demands at that time. According to the company records the miners were receiving one dollar per ton and demanded twenty-five cents more per ton. Mr. Glafcke, editor of the Cheyenne Leader, in 1885, who was much opposed to Chinese labor, nevertheless was of the opinion that the demands of the white miners in 1875 had forced the Company to bring in Chinese. Glafcke wrote: "But if the white men will not dig the company's coal for pay, who will blame the com-

²¹ Morison, S. E., and Commager, H. S., *The Growth of the American Republic*, Vol. II, p. 155.

²² Judging from testimony of O. C. Smith, House Reports, loc. cit., p. 12.

²³ Stephenson, G. M. *American History Since 1865*, p. 121 ff.

pany for hiring yellow, black, or red men, who are ready and willing to do what white men will not do?"²⁴

About 150 Chinese laborers were brought to Rock Springs in 1875, and more later, by the firm of Beckwith, Quinn & Company, which thereafter furnished miners of all nationalities for the Union Pacific Railroad, and took care of the pay roll for both whites and Chinese.²⁵ Striking white miners lost their jobs in 1875. Work was resumed with the 150 Chinese and 50 whites.²⁶ In following years the numbers of Chinese and whites alike were increased. Company records indicate, as has been mentioned, that at the time of the massacre there were 150 whites and 331 Chinese employed in the mines,²⁷ figures which do not take into account hundreds of others in each category otherwise employed. Estimates of the number of Chinese temporarily driven from Rock Springs vary from 600 to 700. No doubt many of the whites disliked the Chinese from their first appearance in Rock Springs, and liked them less as they became more numerous. A memorial signed by 559 Chinese residents of Rock Springs and sent to their consul at New York, dated September 18, 1885, declared that "While they knew that the white men entertained ill feelings toward them the Chinese did not take any precaution ***, inasmuch as at no time in the past had there been any quarrel or fighting between the races."²⁸

Company spokesmen declared that until the massacre relations between whites and Chinese had been generally peaceful. William H. O'Donnell, foreman of the Chinese and company storekeeper, testified that in ten years that Chinese had been employed in the mines there had been no trouble worth mentioning.²⁹ A. C. Beckwith, member of the firm of Beckwith, Quinn & Company, testified that there had never been any complaint by the white men against the employment of Chinese, and that there had been the best of feeling between the two races working in the mines.³⁰

Territorial newspapers took the attitude that the presence of Chinese miners was a serious threat to the well-being of the white miners. The Rock Springs Independent reported that feeling had been growing in the summer of 1885. The

²⁴ The Chinese Massacre, p. 40.

²⁵ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 13. The agreement made between Beckwith, Quinn, & Company and the Union Pacific Railroad Company is reproduced in full in The Chinese Massacre, p. 41 ff.

²⁶ The Chinese Massacre, p. 45.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 30.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

³⁰ House Reports, loc. cit., pp. 12-13.

Independent declared that white men had been turned off the section and hundreds could not get work while the Chinese were shipped in by the car-load and given work.³¹ The Cheyenne Tribune reported: "In extenuation of their action in compelling the Chinese to leave Rock Springs the miners claim they were driven to desperation at seeing their wives and children starving. It is to be regretted that the riot should have occurred, but it must be hard to starve when food is within reach."³² The Laramie Boomerang called to mind that some time before, when the Union Pacific company reduced the hours of their employees, notices had been posted at various points between Ogden and Laramie, demanding the immediate discharge of all Chinamen. "This order, as has usually been the case," the Boomerang continued, "was disobeyed and the result has been a most serious one. * * *"³³

The assorted evidence submitted by the Chinese ambassador, Cheng Tsao Ju, to Secretary of State Bayard attempted to show that most of the complaints against the Chinese were unjustified.³⁴ The Chinese Consul at San Francisco, who collected most of the material for the ambassador, reported that the Chinese were paid the same rate per ton as white miners received for taking coal out, and that whites and Chinese worked upon the same terms, and were governed by the same regulations. The Chinese miners, he contended, had always been law-abiding and peaceful. The one offense which the Chinese consul recognized was the refusal of Chinese miners to join the whites in strike. The refusal of the Chinese to join the Knights of Labor made it probable that strikes could not be successful. It was this, the consul said, that led directly to the decision that the Chinese would have to be expelled from all the mines along the Union Pacific.

The contention of the Chinese ambassador that the Chinese did not under-cut the white miners was based upon the statements of the company officials. A. C. Beckwith, although he maintained that the wages were the same, admitted that the earnings of a Chinese miner averaged \$3 a day, while white miners averaged from three to four dollars.³⁵ The standard price was seventy-four cents per ton, although in some cases the price varied from seventy to eighty-five cents according to the vein.³⁶ The assumption is apparently that the whites turned out more work.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³² Quoted in Laramie Boomerang, Sept. 5, 1885.

³³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1885.

³⁴ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 3 *ff.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁶ The Chinese Massacre, p. 45.

Ralph Zwicky, manager of the Rock Springs store of Beckwith, Quinn & Company, mentioned grievances of the white miners, such as pit-boss favoritism for the Chinese, but denied any personal knowledge except for the discharge of one boss who had been proved guilty of selling rooms.

On September 19, 1885, soon after the massacre, Thomas Neasham, chairman of the Knights of Labor Executive committee of Employees of the Union Pacific Railway, asked the removal of Chinese from the system.³⁷ In behalf of the Knights of Labor Neasham submitted a report charging that the white miners at Rock Springs had been replaced by Chinese who paid mine bosses as much as \$100 for their places, had been made to work where Chinese would not work, had been robbed by the use of false weights, had been discharged because they refused to vote for Mrs. Tisdel for school superintendent, and had been compelled to buy their goods from the store of Beckwith, Quinn & Company. Besides asking the abandonment of Chinese labor, the Knights of Labor asked the removal of Beckwith, Quinn & Company, and D. O. Clark, general superintendent of the Coal Department.

The general manager of the Union Pacific, S. R. Callaway, replied in terms very familiar in 1939: "When the company can be assured against strikes and other outbreaks at the hands of persons who deny its owners the right to manage their property, it may consider the expediency of abandoning Chinese labor; but under all circumstances and at any cost or hazard it will assert its right to employ whom it pleases and refuse to ostracize any one class of its employees at the dictation of another."³⁸ This uncompromising attitude was expressed just four days after Charles F. Adams, Junior, President of the Union Pacific Railway Company, with headquarters in Boston, had wired Callaway: "We here think you too timid."³⁹

It was then the intention of the Union Pacific to keep the Chinese at work, no matter how loud the protests became.

(The second part of this study, which will appear in the next issue of the Annals, will carry the conflict to its conclusion, and will consider the international questions raised when the Chinese Government claimed damages.)

³⁷ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 20.

³⁸ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 21.

³⁹ The Chinese Massacre, p. 71.

HOW FORT WILLIAM, NOW FORT LARAMIE, WAS NAMED

(A Review)

By Dan W. Greenburg*

While it has always been related that Fort William (present Fort Laramie) was named for William L. Sublette, noted fur trader of St. Louis, Missouri, in 1834, not until recently has the origin of the naming of the old trading post been disclosed. It has now, authentically, been proven that it was named for three persons, Sublette, Anderson, and Patton, each of whose first names were William. Anderson was a friend of Sublette's and joined his party on a trip to Green River Rendezvous in 1834, while Patton was a clerk in the employ of Sublette, Campbell and Fitzpatrick, and remained at the site of this new post established by Sublette and his associates.

Credit for the research into this intensely interesting sidelight on the establishment of a fur trading post on Laramie river near its junction with the North Platte, goes to the Historical Department of the University of Montana and Albert J. Partoll, who edited the *Anderson Journals*, his review of which appeared in one of the 1939 issues of the *FRONTIER AND MIDLAND*, a magazine until recently published at the Montana State University, Missoula.

FRONTIER AND MIDLAND MAGAZINE devoted considerable attention to a research of the fur trading days and frequently published new and important discoveries dealing with the early period of the West. Previously, under direc-

***BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**—Daniel W. Greenburg passed away at his home in Cheyenne, Wyoming, on the evening of January 1, 1940, following a heart attack with which he was stricken earlier in the day, and thus was brought to a close a useful career of varied activity, much of which centered around his avocation of historical research.

He had prepared the above review especially for the *ANNALS*, which was only one of his many gestures of cooperation with the State Historical Department during this and previous administrations.

Mr. Greenburg was born in Chicago, in April, 1876, but passed forty years of his life at Lewistown, Idaho, before coming to Wyoming in 1924. He managed and edited a number of newspapers during his earlier life. Originally living at Casper, Wyoming, Mr. Greenburg, as publicity director for the Midwest Refining Company, edited the company's magazine, "The Midwest Review," until early in 1931, when publication was suspended. He and Mrs. Greenburg moved to Cheyenne in 1935, following the former's appointment as director-secretary of the State Planning Board, which he held until its consolidation with

tion of Prof. Paul F. Phillips, of the University of Montana, splendid contributions were made to the annals of early Western Americana, much of which has had specific interest in early Wyoming history.

The late feature, "Anderson's Narrative of a Ride to the Rocky Mountains in 1834," is full of impelling interest and throws new light upon Sublette's activities in Wyoming. While the article is too lengthy to reproduce here, our readers will be keenly interested in some of the highlights of Anderson's Journal. As an "introduction" Mr. Partoll discloses something about Anderson in the following manner:

"William Marshall Anderson, the writer of this interesting narrative, came to the far western region as a guest of the William L. Sublette expedition of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. He accompanied the Sublette party from Independence, Missouri, following the Kaw river, the Blue and the North Platte rivers, and the Sweetwater river to the fur trade rendezvous in the Green River valley of the later state of Wyoming. For the main part the route was over the famed Old Oregon trail of the pioneers.

"The narrative here presented is taken from Anderson's journal of May 28, 1834, to June 19, 1834, which relates to his journey from Chimney Rock in Nebraska to the Green River rendezvous in Wyoming. In this brief interval Anderson recorded a series of events and descriptions worthy of serious consideration among the records of western American expansion and development. Many noted figures of the early frontier are mentioned as participants in this fur trade venture, which was one of the most picturesque in the history of the far west.

another department in 1939. Recently, he had accepted the position of district census supervisor for three southern Wyoming counties, with headquarters at Cheyenne.

An avid student of State and western history, on which he was thoroughly informed, as well as being a prolific writer and contributor to various publications, Mr. Greenburg was active in promoting a greater appreciation for the historical values of the State, and in this connection he is credited with being largely responsible for creation of the Wyoming Historical Landmarks Commission by the State Legislature. He served as publicity director for the commission for several years; also, was active in the work of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, of which he was a regional director, and at the National Convention of the Association at Sacramento, Calif., the past summer, secured the 1940 convention for Wyoming, the conclave to be held in the Teton National Park at the Jackson Lodge, near Moran, in August. Coincident with his death came announcement from eastern headquarters of the Association that Mr. Greenburg had been elected vice-president of the organization.

"Anderson left his home in Louisville, Kentucky, March 11, 1834, for St. Louis and continued to Independence, Missouri, where he joined the Sublette expedition, which left for the mountains April 26. He returned to the east accompanying Thomas Fitzpatrick and party through Council Bluffs, September 11, from where he made his way homeward by way of St. Louis to Louisville, where he arrived October 6."

Mr. Partoll has done a splendid work in his "footnotes" referring to the published parts of the journal, and the footnotes are as interesting as is the original narrative. It is unimportant that there are some errors, which naturally creep into such footnotes, as for instance, he refers to Laramie, the noted trapper, as "Joseph" which of course is an error, since his name was "Jacques." He also says that Laramie was drowned in 1821, but so far as known it has always been currently thought that Laramie was killed by Indians and his remains lie in an unmarked grave somewhere along the Laramie river. This, however, does not detract in the least from the splendid work Mr. Partoll has done in his review of the Anderson journal. Another footnote gives additional light on Anderson's life, indicating his fitness to observe details on such a journey. A man of education and culture, he had a distinctive style in writing of his observations. Partoll says:

"William Marshall Anderson was born June 24, 1807, at Soldier's Retreat, Louisville, Kentucky, and was the son of Colonel Richard Clough Anderson and Sarah Marshall. His education included attendance at Transylvania Institute at Lexington, where he continued until his junior year. Louisville, Kentucky, Chillicothe and Circleville, Ohio, were his main places of residence. He practiced law for a time and was later engaged in farming. In 1835 he married Eliza Ann McArthur, and in 1857 following the death of his first wife, married Ellen Columbia Ryan. The first marriage was blessed with four boys and five girls, and the second with three boys and one girl. He passed away at Circleville, Ohio, January 7, 1881, leaving a distinguished line of descendants."

It is further disclosed that Anderson's father, by his first marriage, was a brother-in-law of the brothers William Allen Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and George Rogers Clark, Revolutionary hero.

Referring to the founding of Fort William, Anderson's journal is quoted as of May 31, 1834, by Mr. Partoll as follows:

"31st.—This evening we arrived at the mouth of Laramie's Fork, where Capt. (William L.) Sublette intends to erect a trader's fort. This is a bright and rapid stream of water, running out of the Black Hills from the South. As soon as the fort is planned and commenced we will resume

our westward march. The Black Hills are spurs of the great Rocky Mountain range, and derive their name from the dark shadows which the cedar and pine growing upon their sides, forcibly suggest." Now on the next day is definitely established that it was June 1, 1834, that began the building of Fort William. Here is Anderson's account:

"June 1st.—1834.—This day we laid the foundation log of a fort, on Laramie's fork. A friendly dispute arose between our leader and myself, as to the name. He proposed to call it Fort Anderson, I insisted on calling it Fort Sublette, and holding the trump card in my hand, (a bottle of champagne was about to claim the trick). Sublette stood by, cup reversed, still objecting when (William) Patton offered a compromise which was accepted, and the foam flew, in honor of Fort William, which contained the triad prenames of clerk, leader and friend. Leaving Patton and fourteen men to finish the job, we started upwards. From the top of the Black Hills I got my first view of the Rocky Mountains—the snow covered mountains. My eyes have been fastened upon them all day, and at night I am not sobered, I must pen down my mind bubbles.

"My first thought or feeling rather, was, Oh, ye toppling crags of ice, "summoned by the desperate Manfred," to crush him! Wherein are ye more terrific, more magnificently grand! See towering up to Heaven, the Kremlin of the winter God! Pillars and arches of gold and silver, with rose dyed glories of the setting sun, flashing from tower to tower. There palaces and pyramids of christal pierce the skies, and all around mansions of parian purity, spotless and white as virgin souls. Other portions of the range, not entirely wrapped in snow, were ever changing in form and color, whilst the summits were sporting with broad blades of light, the center was darkened by moving clouds, which like the mighty billows surged onward and upward, or rolled back with resistless power, as if to tear the giant Oregon from its base. To me these mimic battles of clouds and mountains are supremely grand, and whether serious thoughts or wild imaginings, I write them down.

"In six or seven hundred miles of weary travel, we have seen no trees, save here and there a cottonwood, near the banks, or on some island on the Platte.

"Marvels, they say, will never cease, but the marvel of marvels is now before me. This muddy, slow and sleepy (North) Platte—this water cheat, which, for so many days, we have seen floating downward, impelled by its own weight—is here, one of the mightiest elements of the earth. It has

come rushing with resistless power, over barriers of granite rock, and bursting and breaking through the Black Hills, leaving perpendicular walls eight hundred feet on either side. I feel assured I shall never forget the grand spectacle, or cease to wonder at the change. I shall also mark this day with a white pebble, for another cause: I killed one of the fastest of fast animals, the antelope. Moore calls it 'the silver-footed Antelope.' Those of our deserts are decidedly ebon-footed."

Referring to the establishment of Fort William, Partoll, in a footnote, says: "Anderson gives vital facts regarding the beginning of this trading post. Robert Campbell is believed to have been among those who remained to help with its construction. Fort William was later known as Fort Laramie from its location, and was shortly acquired by the American Fur Company. Another post by the same name was later built in the vicinity and became the property of the United States government in 1849." It would be interesting to read the detail of Anderson's diary, which is not quoted in Partoll's review. There is no attempt here to point out any deficiencies in Partoll's footnotes, but he seems to have lost sight of the fact that "Fort John" was another name given the post in question. Fort John, Fort William and Fort Laramie, each and all of them were located within the area of present Fort Laramie, now once again in the title of the United States government. Recently the writer of this review came into possession of a photographic print from an oil painting of "Sublette's Fort" made in 1837 when the post was in charge of Lucien Fontenelle for the American Fur Company, and undoubtedly is that of the post started by Sublette in 1834.

The Anderson narrative reviews the day by day journey up the Platte in which he dwells upon the scenic beauties, the wild game and the constant lookout for Indians, which he terms "Yellow-jackets." He has crossed the Platte in the vicinity of Casper; thence on towards Red Buttes, which he describes in his inimitable way. He tells of the journey across the country to the Sweetwater: "Immense numbers of buffalo are in sight," he says, and then he regales us with his gastronomic estimate of buffalo ribs, hump and tongue, all the most tender and delicious delicacies. What he took for "frost" turned out to be the well known soda lakes near the Sweetwater, as he later learned. It was on June 6th that he reached "Rock Independence," and his comment is worthy of reproducing here:

"We have breakfasted this morning at the base of Rock Independence. There are few places better known or more

interesting to the mountaineer than this huge boulder. Here they look for and often obtain information of intense interest to them. On the side of the rock names, dates and messages, written in buffalo-grease and powder, are read and re-read with as much eagerness as if they were letters in detail from long absent friends. Besides being a place of advertisement, or kind of trappers' post office, it possesses a reputation and a fame peculiar to itself. It is a large, egg-shaped mass of granite, entirely separate and apart from all other hills, or ranges of hills. One mile in circumference, and about six or seven hundred feet high, without a particle of vegetation, and with no change known but the varying sparkles of mica which are seen by day and by the moon by night.

"Some years ago, a party of buffalo killers and beaver skinners celebrated here our national jubilee on the great Fourth of July. What noise, what roar of powder and pomp of patriotism surrounded and echoed from this eternal monument my informant did not say, nor can I imagine. I shall suppose the immortal Declaration was talked over, Washington toasted, and Rock Independence baptised into the old confederacy.

"We are now in a very dangerous region, and our motto is, or should be, 'watch and pray.' There is a great deal of the first done, I know, and very little of the last I suspect." On this same day Anderson soars in eloquence over the scenic beauties of the region. He describes his journey up the Sweetwater —through the "narrow gorge," which must have been at Devil's Gate; then on the 9th the party find "fresh horse tracks," which they followed and found a letter sticking in a twig near Fitzpatrick's "Cache." It was from Louis Vasquez, who later was to become a partner in the ownership of Fort Bridger. In his narrative, Anderson says:

"It was from Lew Vasquez," referring to the letter, "a great favorite of the mountaineers, who had almost been given up for lost. This letter was his resurrection. He was much talked of today, and always praised. One old trapper said 'thank God he lives, and I shall hear his merry laugh again.'

On the same day, Anderson muses: "Today I drink the waters which flow into the Atlantic; tomorrow I shall quench my thirst from fountains which send their tributaries to the Ocean of Peace (Pacific). We have had a restless, sleepless, and unhappy night. My anxiety is particularly great. Our hunter and young Walker, the grandson of Major Christy of St. Louis, have not returned. I have ascended all the highest hills, and eminences around, to look for them. Our guns have all been discharged, but no response, no sign." However, next day's notes tell that 12 miles beyond they came upon the men,

who were calmly awaiting their arrival. Then Anderson describes his crossing South Pass and later of the arrival of the party at the Green River Rendezvous, their original objective. For a number of succeeding days he tells of the life at the "Rendezvous" and of the many notables in the peltry traffic encountered, including Major Drips, Vasquez, Fitzpatrick, John Gray, Nathaniel Wyeth and many Indian chiefs.

Space forbids quoting more extensively, but the charm of the Anderson Diary intrigues one to know more of the man's life, and to have opportunity to read the more full and complete diary. In his last footnote in relation to Anderson's narrative, Mr. Partoll says:

"Following the termination of the rendezvous some days later, Anderson returned east with a party under Thomas Fitzpatrick, with memories of his western sojourn preserved in his personal notes. He had participated in a historic expedition in 'pioneering the west' and had seen the far western frontier when the pelt of the beaver and the peltries of the fur trade induced men to brave great dangers, while, perhaps unconsciously, leading the way for white occupation of the great wilderness vaguely shown on early maps as the territory of Oregon."

A TRIP TO THE YELLOWSTONE AND THE OREGON COUNTRY IN 1834

By Charles Gauld, III*

A century ago this year my great-grandfather, Wm. Marshall Anderson, made a trip on horseback from Kentucky to Yellowstone and the Oregon Country. A native of Kentucky, he was the nephew of the great John Marshall. Leaving Louisville in March, 1834, he went to St. Louis where he had hoped to join the dragoons of the Pawnee-Pic expedition commanded by his relative Gen. Atkinson. Although he had a letter to General Dodge too, this did not work out. On General Atkinson's advice he accepted the invitation of the famed fur trader Capt. Wm. Sublette to accompany him to the Rocky Mountains.

The party left St. Louis April 26, 1834, for a rendezvous near Lexington, Missouri. Wm. Anderson had named his horse "Blackhawk" because of the participation of his brother Robert in the Blackhawk campaign. Later Robert Anderson com-

*Charles Gauld, III is the great grandson of William Marshall Anderson, author of the Journal reviewed in the preceding article by Dan Greenburg. This article, written by Mr. Gauld, is a resume of his great-grandfather's journals, edited by Albert J. Partoll, and was published in the January, 1935, issue of "The Washington Historical Quarterly."

manded Fort Sumpter, was a Union General, and founded the National Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C. Wm. Anderson was much impressed by the fertility of the valley between St. Louis and Independence which he said was "now the very verge of civilization." He described the recent Mormon strife there.

On May 7, 1834, the party camped on the Kansas river at General Marston G. Clark's Indian agency. He and Wm. Anderson talked of mutual friends and relatives. Now far out on the Great Plains, the group crossed the Platte and headed for the Black Hills. On June 1, he wrote, "This day we laid the foundation log of a fort on Laramee's fork." He and Captain Sublette each wanted to name it for the other. They compromised, both being named William, and so Fort William was christened. He said in his little leather-bound journal, "From the top of the Black Hills I got my first view of the Rocky Mountains—the snow-covered mountains. My eyes have been fastened on them all day."

In the Rockies they met trappers who had been away from civilization for from three to twelve years, bringing the freshest news in three years to one band of French and American trappers of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. On June 14, 1834, Wm. Anderson raised the first American flag seen in that part of the Rockies, to the cheers of the fur-men.

Wm. Anderson met Nez Perces and Flatheads as they came into Sublette's camp in what is now the state of Idaho, to trade. One chief was very friendly when he heard Wm. Anderson was a relative of the explorer William Clark, and embraced him, telling him of his boyhood recollections of the great expedition. Wm. Anderson's blonde hair was much admired by the Indians. The same Flathead chief who remembered Clark gave Wm. Anderson a grizzly skin, complete with head and claws.

June 18, he wrote, "Capt. Wyeth of Boston who left the settlements ten days before us, came into camp this evening. He is on his way to the mouth of the Columbia River, where he expects a vessel, freighted with merchandise to be exchanged for furs, salmon, etc. I have declined an invitation to accompany him, although his return trip by way of the Sandwich Islands is a strong temptation. I think I am far enough away from home for this time."

"Mr. Edward Christy of St. Louis has just arrived from Fort Vancouver, bringing with him a considerable number of Snakes and Nez Perces." Fifteen hundred Indians were encamped around Sublette to trade. Sublette met an old friend "Rotten Belly," a Nez Perce. Both had been wounded together in a fight against the terrible and hated Blackfeet, the brave being shot in the belly.

Wm. Marshall Anderson noted that all the mountain tribes had a similar name for Americans, it being the native word for "long-knife," "sword," or "big-blade." He described Indians, buffalo herds and hunts, scenery of mountain and plains, and the fur trappers and traders of the remote Oregon Country of one hundred years ago.

My grandfather, General T. M. Anderson, for whom Mt. Anderson in the Olympics is named, served at many frontier army posts before commanding Vancouver Barracks, Washington, from 1886 to 1898. In 1898 he led half of the forces that captured Manila, being the first American general to command an army overseas.

The writer is at present engaged in the study of History at the University of Washington.

HUNTING EXPERIENCES OF EARLY DAYS

(Excerpts from Diary of W. A. RICHARDS*)

"I have a very distinct recollection of my first experience with a herd of buffalo. I was one of a party of fourteen travelling south from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, on foot, with two two-mule teams to haul our camp equipment and supplies.

"We had reached a point about forty miles from Fort Kearney when, about the middle of the afternoon, as we were driving along a ridge or high plateau, with a little valley to the west, there suddenly appeared on the summit of the opposite ridge to the west of the valley a huge black line about half a mile long, which the chief of the party, who had been on the plains before, informed us, was a herd of buffalo. This ridge was about half a mile from us, and we were about opposite the center of the line. It was apparent that with our loaded teams it would be impossible to get beyond the line before the herd would be upon us. Our chief, who had had experience of this kind before, immediately called a halt, directed that the two wagons be brought up close together, one behind the other, and that the mules be unhitched and

*NOTE—The manuscript from which these excerpts were taken was prepared from information furnished by Mrs. Alice Richards McCreery, of 627 East 20th Street, Long Beach, California, daughter of Governor W. A. Richards, author of the diary, and is on file in the State Historical Department. Mrs. McCreery, whose husband was the late Rev. Guy W. McCreery, of Long Beach, was a young woman of 18 at the time of her father's inauguration as Governor of Wyoming, and served as his private secretary during the entire four years of his term of office.

Additional information which brings the biographical data of the Richards family up to date, has been provided recently by Mrs. McCreery and is also on file in the Department.

placed behind the wagons opposite the side from which the buffalo were coming, and securely fastened to the wheels. One man was detailed to each mule to keep it quiet as possible. Then ten of us were instructed to take as many cartridges as we could put in our pockets, form a line, go out and meet the buffalo, and try to split them and keep them divided until they had passed the wagons.

"We were armed with Spencer carbines, which shot a 59-calibre bullet with a charge of powder much too light for that weight of lead and that kind of game. There was a magazine in the stock which would carry seven cartridges, and a lever which was used in the same manner in which the Winchester lever is used today. After the magazine was exhausted the gun could be used as a single shotgun is, loaded from the breach by hand. We went out some three hundred yards from the wagons and began to shoot. At that time the rear end of the herd had not come over the opposite ridge, so that we were facing a mass of buffalo half a mile long on the front and extending at least as far back, the animals packed as solidly together as it was possible for them to stand, and coming at what was only a fast walk until we began shooting, when they broke into a gallop. It was impossible for us to stop them as those in front were urged forward by those behind, and the crowding extended clear to the rear. The front of the line presented a terrifying appearance to a boy who had never fired a gun at anything larger than a rabbit. It seemed to be a solid mass of black heads, horns and humps, and extended as far as we could see in every direction in front of us.

"I remember very distinctly that when I fired my first shot, the front of the line being about a hundred yards from us, I thought I had certainly struck a horn. I did not then know that one could hear a bullet strike a body of flesh at that distance but when I had fired several shots and heard them all strike I knew I was hitting something other than horns. At that particular moment there came into my mind a story I had read in the old fourth reader at school of an experience of this kind, in which old Leather Stocking, Cooper's hero in his story of "The Prairie," was the central figure. On that occasion the tide had been turned in favor of the few persons about to be overwhelmed by the onrushing herd, by the donkey which was used for a pack animal lifting up his voice when his domain had been encroached upon. As it had been successful on that occasion I thought some more noise might be of benefit at this time, and having pretty good lungs, I exerted them to the utmost, joined at once by the

rest of the firing party. My theory worked out all right. At any rate, the noise of our guns and voices, with what execution our bullets were doing, caused the herd to divide and pass on either side of us; but we soon found ourselves in a very precarious situation.

"When the herd was first split the buffalo could see as well as hear us and veered off either way, but those who were following created such a noise themselves and raised such a cloud of dust that they could hardly see or hear us, and soon began to crowd in on us in a manner exceedingly disquieting. We could see nothing except a black mass, which now almost surrounded us, and was being forced backward and in upon itself to such an extent that it became very doubtful whether we were going to be successful in our effort. Of course, if we failed here, it meant that we would be trampled under foot and the entire party, as well as the outfit, literally wiped off the face of the earth. What with our shooting and shouting and the terrific noise of the herd and the excitement of the occasion there was little time to figure on the probability. We only knew that we had been forced into a solid line, and were simply splitting the herd because we would not double up or give way on either end. We had been giving back, foot by foot, for what seemed to me a very long time, had very few cartridges left, and it was becoming evident we could not stand the strain much longer. Just then our backs came in contact with the wagon, and at almost the same instant we saw daylight ahead of us, and there was the end of the herd. Those at the wagon said that for more than half an hour they had been entirely surrounded by buffalo, as the herd had united as soon as the wagons were passed. The chief of our party declared that in ten years' work on the plains this was the closest shave he ever had had from being annihilated by buffalo. The most remarkable thing about the whole affair was that when the herd had passed and the dust had settled there were only two dead buffalo lying upon the plains, while more than 300 shots had been fired. With such guns as are used today for hunting purposes a large proportion of the shots would have killed. With the guns which we were using, a shot in the head from the front would not even knock a buffalo down.

"Having a small supply of water in our wagons, we camped at this place, but got very little sleep, as the herd stopped within a short distance of us and spent the night there. On account, doubtless, of the wounded buffalo and the smell of fresh blood they were in a state of turmoil all night while the wolves, both coyotes and the large gray wolves, kept up an incessant howling all night long. In

addition to these unpleasant features there was the constant fear of a stampede of the herd in our direction again. This did not occur, however, and we moved on the next morning in good order with a plentiful supply of buffalo meat, the first we had obtained upon the trip.

"This was my introduction to buffalo hunting, of which I did a great deal during the next few years. In that time I saw herds of buffalo larger than this herd, but we were always so fortunate as not to get in their line of march.

"The buffalo is, under ordinary circumstances, a docile animal, neither aggressive nor combative, but I had some experiences with them which went to show that when aggravated they are exceedingly dangerous. I found that ordinarily a buffalo, like any other wild animal with which I have had experience, including the grizzly bear, would run from a hunter if given the opportunity, and when wounded it would not ordinarily charge a man from a greater distance than about fifty yards. Upon one occasion I met one which was an exception to this rule. I was hunting on foot with a Henry rifle, which was the first model of the Winchester. Buffaloes were not plentiful in that locality, but finally I sighted an old bull lying on the plain; there was nothing within half a mile of him to conceal a hunter. Hunting on foot, I needed meat badly and could not afford to let this old fellow get away. I worked around directly behind him and then advanced toward him. Buffaloes are not very wary when lying down, and I approached to within about a hundred and fifty yards, when I concluded I was as close as I cared to be and so took a shot at him.

"When lying down, a buffalo's back slopes considerably on account of its forequarters being so much the heavier, and my bullet struck this sloping surface on a rib, made a slit in the skin, and did no further damage. The old fellow jumped up and started to run at right angles to the line I was following, giving me a good shot at his side. I fired, but having underestimated the distance, the ball dropped and struck him just above the hoof of the foreleg. Although I found subsequently that this ball broke no bones, it had a very bad effect upon his temper, for, to my great surprise, he turned and came straight toward me.

"I would have liked to have gone somewhere, but the plain extended for a mile in every direction without a break, and I could not outrun him for that distance. There was nothing for it but to hold my ground and shoot, which I proceeded to do, and I was much gratified to see that I retained my nerve, for I could hear every ball strike him. He came on without any hesitation and I kept shooting as

fast as possible, but after a few shots became very much alarmed respecting the number of cartridges remaining in the magazine. I had not time to look to see whether I was throwing in a cartridge every time I threw down the lever, and every time I pulled it was with a sickening feeling of uncertainty as to whether the gun was loaded or not. Aside from this I was getting a little bit doubtful of the propriety of holding the fort much longer, when just as I was about to pull the trigger for another shot, he suddenly stopped. He was near enough so that I could have thrown my hat upon his horns. I had determined to fire that shot and then turn the fight into a foot race, and I was consequently very much displeased when he showed a disposition to call it a draw. I did not fire again because I felt morally certain I had the last cartridge in the gun; besides this, the shot was as apt to start him forward as to do him any injury, and I was very certain I had had enough of it, so I stood there holding the gun on him but hoping that it would not be necessary to fire.

"He certainly presented the most terrifying aspect of any animal I had ever faced. He was of immense size, had been shot several times where it brought the blood, was standing with his feet slightly apart, his head somewhat lowered as though he would like to charge me, with blood and foam running from his mouth and nostrils while he sent forth a low bellow of rage. This situation did not last long. He had come just as far as he could and had stopped, not because he was afraid of me, but because he could not come a step farther. He stood there and glared and bellowed until he began to waver a little from one side to the other. Suddenly he went down. He was dead when I reached him.

"I found two or three bullets in his foretop or flattened on his skull, while the ball which killed him had passed along the side of his neck and had entered his body between the neck and the shoulder blade. But for that one fortunate shot this story would probably have had an entirely different ending."

"Here is another hunting experience of those early days:

"In 1873 I was hunting on Sheep mountain in southern Wyoming. On its summit, near the Little Snake River, there is a well defined crater, now closed at the bottom and overgrown with grass.

"Here I came on a small band of mountain sheep, which immediately disappeared over the farther rim of the crater. Crossing over after them and looking down the side of the mountain which was a mass of broken rock without timber,

I saw the sheep strung out, working their way around the mountain side, about two hundred yards below me. The last in line was a young buck, who stopped and gazed up the mountain with an evident desire to come back. Resting my gun across a large boulder, I took deliberate aim just behind the knuckle of the shoulder and fired. To my great surprise he fell as though electrocuted. There was scarcely a struggle, and I could not imagine where I had hit him. If shot through the heart he would have darted forward a few yards at least. With a broken back he could still struggle; but he lay perfectly still. It was no easy task to get down to him, for he lay on a slide of shale which was just about as steep as a man could travel on.

"At last I reached him and took hold of a hind leg, when it seemed the whole side of the mountain had started for a lower altitude. Naturally I at once sat down. I retained my hold on the leg of the sheep with my left hand, and was therefore unable to protect myself much. Some of the rocks were exceedingly sharp.

"In the toboggan race the sheep was ahead part of the time, and the other part I was ahead. The inevitable precipice lay before us, but the grade changed somewhat in our favor, and we stopped just in time to escape a plunge that would have been disastrous.

"I was not hurt, to speak of, but some portions of my clothing were decidedly the worse for wear. The sheep was considerably skinned up and had left quite a trail of hair down the mountainside.

"My first thought was to see where he had been hit. He had stood with his left side toward me, and examination showed he had been struck just where I had aimed. The ball, from a 50-calibre needle gun, had not only gone through his heart but entirely through his body; yet that should not have killed him instantly. On examination of his horns, which were not unusually large, the secret was revealed. The bullet had gone through his head just above the eyes, but had gone out at the left.

"It was evident that just as I fired he had thrown his head around on his side, exactly in the line of sight, and the ball had first gone through his brain, then through his heart.

"No wonder he dropped dead. Probably few animals have ever been shot sidewise, through the head and through the body at one shot and with one bullet."

BASIC HISTORICAL INFORMATION THAT EVERY WYOMING CITIZEN SHOULD KNOW

Name

The musical name, "Wyoming," was used by J. M. Ashley, of Ohio, who, "as early as 1865," introduced into Congress a bill to provide a temporary government "for the territory of Wyoming," to be formed from portions of Dakota, Utah, and Idaho Territories. The bill was referred to the committee on territories where it rested until 1868, when Dakota's regularly elected delegate, S. L. Spink, presented himself at the door of Congress, and while not being permitted a seat, he was able to "refresh the memories of the territorial committee." Others active in sponsoring organization of the new territory, attached the name "Wyoming," to their proposals, though credit for popularizing the idea is given by Historian Coutant to Leigh Richmond Freeman, publisher of a newspaper, "The Pioneer Index," at Fort Kearney, Nebraska. "He had numerous articles in his 'Pioneer Index' advocating the name and there is no doubt that such editorial work had its effect on the people in this country and those who afterwards inserted the name in the bill creating Wyoming Territory." Mr. Coutant records Freeman's claim that he was the first to apply the name to the "southwest half of Dakota," when "in the spring of 1866, while enroute from Fort Kearney, Nebraska, to Fort Laramie to attend a Peace Conference, he wrote a letter for publication, to his paper and dated this correspondence, 'Third Crossing of Lodge Pole Creek, Wyoming Territory.' "

The name Wyoming is probably an imprint left by emigrants on their westward trek from Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, made famous by Campbell's beautiful poem, "Gertrude of Wyoming." The word means mountains and valleys alternating, while the Delaware Indian interpretation of it is a corruption of Maugh-wau-wa-ma, meaning "The Large Plains."

Nickname

First to grant woman suffrage, Wyoming is known as the "Equality State"—and is sometimes called the "Sagebrush State."

State Flag

The Wyoming State flag, designed by Mrs. Verna Keays, of Buffalo, Wyoming, was adopted by the fourteenth legislature on January 31, 1917.

Submitted in a contest conducted by the Daughters of the American Revolution, it was selected from thirty-seven entrants.

The original sketch was received from the artist by the State Historical Department a few years after its adoption, and is on display in the State Museum.

The following legend of the flag was written by Mrs. Keays:

“The Great Seal of the State of Wyoming is the heart of the flag.

“The seal of the bison represents the truly western custom of branding. The bison was once ‘monarch of the plains.’

“The red border represents the Red Men, who knew and loved our country long before any of us were here; also, the blood of the pioneers who gave their lives in reclaiming the soil.

“White is an emblem of purity and uprightness over Wyoming.

“Blue, which is found in the bluest of blue Wyoming skies and the distant mountains, has through the ages been significant of fidelity, justice and virility.

“And finally, the red, the white, and the blue of the flag of the State of Wyoming are the colors of the greatest flag in all the world, the Stars and Stripes of the United States of America.”

State Bird

Meadow Lark

By an act of the nineteenth legislature, the Meadow Lark was designated as the State Bird on February 5, 1927.

From the imagination of Hazel Harper Sample Pickett has come one version as to how the choice originally was made. In a juvenile story by the author which appeared in the July, 1931, issue of ANNALS OF WYOMING, and previous to that, in The Pepper Pot, Vol. I, No. 23, April, 1930, and since ceased publication—Mother Nature called all the birds of the State together and told them of the proposal by the people to select one of them for the honor of being the official State Bird.

There was a general commotion among the birds, the noisiest of which was Sir Robert Magpie, who did nothing but talk, talk. Order was soon restored and Mother Nature outlined the requirements: “First, the chosen one must be found in every county of the State. Next, he must be useful and beautiful. Then he must come very early in the spring and stay as late as possible in the fall. Lastly, he must have a beautiful voice, for he must cheer the people who have endured the long, cold winter and are looking for spring.” The conceited Mr. Magpie voted for himself, but the sweet-voiced Meadow Lark won the election in Bird-dom. His song is “Spring o’ the year! Spring o’ the year!” “Now Mother Nature has a way of suggesting things to human beings, * * *” and the sequel of the story is that when those people met “whose business it was to select the State Bird, they, too, agreed on the Meadow Lark. So that is how the Meadow Lark came to be the State Bird of Wyoming.”

State Flower

The Indian Paint Brush
(*Castillija Linariaefolia*)

The Indian Paint Brush was adopted by act of the fourteenth legislature on January 31, 1917, to which the poetical pen of A. V. Hudson has addressed the following lines:

A strange little flower
With a sun-kissed nose,
Without any perfume,
Yet red as a rose.
Did some Indian maiden
Plant you here
In the footprint left
By the hoof of a deer?
Or are you the symbol
Of blood that was shed
In the feud of the white man
And the red?

State Seal

A seal for Wyoming was adopted February 8, 1893, and the dimensions were reduced by an act of the sixteenth legislature, approved February 15, 1921, as follows:

"There shall be a great seal of the State of Wyoming, which shall be of the following design, viz.: A circle one and one-half inches in diameter, on the outer edge of rim of which shall be engraven the words 'Great Seal of the State of Wyoming,' and the design shall conform substantially to the following description: A pedestal showing on the front thereof an eagle resting upon a shield, said shield to have engraven thereon a star and the figures '44,' being the number of Wyoming in order of admission to statehood. Standing upon the pedestal shall be a draped figure of a woman, modeled after the statue of the 'Victory of the Louvre,' from whose wrists shall hang links of a broken chain, and holding in her right hand a staff from the top of which shall float a banner with the words 'Equal Rights' thereon, all suggesting the political position of women in this state. On either side of the pedestal, and standing at the base thereof, shall be male figures typifying the live stock and mining industries of Wyoming. Behind the pedestal and in the background, shall be two pillars, each supporting a lighted lamp, signifying the light of knowledge. Around each pillar shall be a scroll with the following words thereon: On the right of the central figure the words 'Live Stock' and 'Grain,' and on the left the words 'Mines' and 'Oil.' At the base of the pedestal and in front, shall appear the figures '1869-1890,' the former date signifying the organization of the territory of Wyoming and the latter the date of its admission to statehood."

The original seal was two and one-quarter inches in diameter.

State Song**“Wyoming March Song”**

Words by Charles E. Winter
 Music (march) by George E. Knapp

I

In the far and mighty West,
 Where the crimson sun seeks rest,
 There's a growing splendid state that lies above
 On the breast of this great land;
 Where the massive Rockies stand,
 There's Wyoming young and strong, the State I love!

II

In the flowers wild and sweet,
 Colors, rare and perfumes meet;
 There's the columbine so pure, the daisy too,
 Wild the rose and red it springs,
 White the button and its rings,
 Thou art loyal for they're red and white and blue.

III

Where thy peaks with crowned head,
 Rising till the sky they wed,
 Sit like snow queens ruling wood and stream and plain;
 'Neath thy granite bases deep,
 'Neath thy bosom's broadened sweep,
 Lie the riches that have gained and brought thee fame.

IV

Other treasures thou dost hold,
 Men and women thou dost mould;
 True and earnest are the lives that thou dost raise,
 Strength thy children thou dost teach,
 Nature's truth thou givst to each,
 Free and noble are thy workings and thy ways.

V

In the nation's banner free
 There's one star that has for me
 A radiance pure and a splendor like the sun;
 Mine it is, Wyoming's star,
 Home it leads me near or far;
 O Wyoming! all my heart and love you've won!

CHORUS

Wyoming, Wyoming! Land of the sunlight clear!
 Wyoming, Wyoming! Land that we hold so dear!
 Wyoming, Wyoming! Precious art thou and thine!
 Wyoming, Wyoming! Beloved State of mine!

History of State Song

During the summer of 1903, Charles E. Winter, in a mood of loneliness for his friends, family and beloved State of Wyoming while traveling in the east, jotted down the five verses and chorus of the song, "Wyoming." Upon returning to his home in the then "thriving copper mining camp, Grand Encampment, in southeastern Carbon County," the lines were typed, pigeon-holed and forgotten for several months, but later were perused by Earle R. Clemens, editor of the Encampment Herald, who, inspired by the sentiment of the verses, composed the first music for the song, "for a solo verse and quartet chorus, and later a quartet arrangement for the entire song."

Soon after, the song was introduced at Sheridan, Wyoming, by Mr. Winter and Mr. Clemens in a quartet of which they both were members, before the convention of the State Industrial Association, predecessor of the Wyoming State Fair Association, where it was well received and "declared to be the State Song." It was also presented "with marked success" on Wyoming Day at the World's Fairs held, respectively, at St. Louis in 1904, and at Portland, Oregon, in 1905, and again at the Panama Exposition, San Francisco, California, in 1915.

Early in 1920, George E. Knapp, Professor of Voice at the State University, Laramie, Wyoming, composed a stirring tune in march tempo, which immediately popularized the song for choruses and group or assembly singing and secured for it, general acceptance. The lyric is the same in both compositions, but the latter was published under title, "Wyoming March Song," and may be obtained from Mr. Winter at P. O. Box 1266, Casper, Wyoming.

Wyoming Day

An act of the twenty-third legislature designated the tenth day of December in each year as "Wyoming Day," provided for its proper observance and for a proclamation by the Governor, "in recognition of the action of the Wyoming Territorial Governor on December 10, 1869, in approving the first law found anywhere in legislative history which extends the right of suffrage to women, * * *" Approved February 19, 1935.

WITH OUR CORRESPONDENTS

Grave of Former Wyoming Indian Fighter Marked Recently

A reminder of early day frontier calamities in Wyoming at Fort Phil Kearny is an article which appeared in a Wilmington, Delaware, newspaper, *The Journal*, on October 12, 1939. It concerned the marking of the grave of John Guthrie, "Indian fighter of the old school," buried in Cathedral Cemetery of that section. He had returned to Brandywine Village where he was born in 1848, and where he died in 1923.

The newspaper clipping was received by the State Historical Department from A. V. Ryan, of Midland Park, N. J., a great nephew of Mr. Guthrie, in which it was stated also that Mr. Ryan "has been gathering data on Guthrie's life from army records and accounts in the files of the Historical Department of Wyoming."

The article referred to efforts being made by relatives and friends to have a new marker erected on the Guthrie grave, "in place of the old one which has been missing for six years." A letter from Mr. Ryan accompanying the clipping related that when he located the grave of his soldier-relative, it was unnoticed and unmarked, but that he has now succeeded in securing a Government headstone, and also has placed a bronze marker of the Indian War Veterans on the grave. A portion of the newspaper story follows:

"Mr. Guthrie served with Troop C, Second U. S. Cavalry from 1865 through '68 and took part in some of the most bitter Indian warfare of the period, including the famous 'Fetterman Massacre' in Wyoming where he was during most of his army service."

An account of the Fetterman Massacre by Mr. Guthrie, on file in the State Historical Department, reveals that his horse, Dapple Dave, of Company C, 2nd Cavalry, ridden that day by one of Fetterman's men, was the only life which escaped, though several arrows and a bullet had found their mark in his flesh.

Mr. Guthrie "enlisted in Philadelphia in September, 1865. His record shows he served in campaigns against the Sioux Indians in Dakota Territory in 1866 and '67, participated in engagements at Goose Creek, Dakota Territory, in December, 1866, and at Crazy Woman's Fork, Dakota Territory, in October, 1867, and is a survivor of the massacre at Fort Phil Kearny. Later he acted as an Indian scout."

The thrilling story of the "Wagon Box" fight in which Mr. Guthrie and a group of companions withstood the onslaught of several thousand Indians for a number of hours is related, as well as the Fetterman disaster in which Lieut. Col. Fetterman

and his entire regiment (81 officers and men) were killed by the Sioux, under Chief Red Cloud on December 21, 1867.

“Known as ‘Blue Stone Jack,’ Guthrie was instrumental in having Congress provide funds for a monument to his companions who were killed in this massacre.”

Greetings from Denmark

From the Dan-America Archives, of Aalborg, Denmark, through Archivist S. V. Waendelin, comes a cheerful message acknowledging receipt of “The Annals of Wyoming” which they are very glad to have on file in their American Library, and concluding with “We wish you and your readers a Merry Christmas and a bright, blessed New Year.”

Called “The Emigrant Archives,” established in Denmark four years ago, it is the only institution of its kind in the world, and is devoted exclusively to collecting material on the history of Danish emigration.

A pamphlet on the institution explains that the Danes have emigrated to practically every country in the world, and being good citizens, have done their part in developing the new commonwealths.

“A thorough understanding of the Danish emigrants’ share in the development of the United States, Canada, Australia, South America, can only be obtained in conjunction with the general history of these countries.”

The sum of \$10,000 was donated to cover expenses of the Archives for the first four years by “a prominent American citizen of Danish birth, Mr. William S. Knudsen, ranking Vice President of the General Motors Co., Detroit, Michigan, U. S. A. Other money gifts have been received from interested parties.”

Well illustrated with views of the imposing Archives Building, as well as some of the interior rooms, the brochure makes appeal for assistance in contribution of “books, manuscripts and pictures, historical works covering also social, religious, literary, artistic, economic and industrial activities, all of which will be of great value to the Archives.”

“We venture to hope that you sympathize with the objects of the Emigrant Archives. There is no better cause in the world today than the promotion of friendly understanding between the various peoples of the earth and this is the rock on which our institution is built.”

From Mrs. Nora Moss Law, 1001 Sierra Street, Berkeley, Calif., has come cheerful word, as follows, in part:

“I wish to thank you for the three issues of the ‘Annals of Wyoming,’ which I treasure highly. This seems to me to be

a very worthy publication. I found it most interesting and valuable."

Mrs. Law, born at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, is an active member of the California Writers' Club, and last summer was the author of an article in defense of the Wyoming exhibit on display at the Golden Gate Exposition in San Francisco, following a Wyoming newspaper reporter's criticism. Incensed at what she believed as a gross injustice to her native State, Mrs. Law made vigorous response which, subsequently, was given wide dissemination by the Wyoming press.

Her ambition is "to study at Wyoming University and then write a book about 'Wonderful Wyoming.' "

Former Residents Plan Visit

If plans of Mrs. Alice R. McCreery, of Long Beach, California, and her sister, Mrs. L. A. Barrett, of Belmont, California, materialize, they will be visitors in Wyoming this summer. Early residents of this State, they are daughters of former Governor, W. A. Richards, and are anticipating the opportunity to view old scenes.

Writes Mrs. McCreery: "One of the first, if not the first, Frontier Day was in 1898. Mr. Cody was my father's guest and they led the parade in Buffalo Bill's pony cart. Incidentally, his wife and daughter were our guests for dinner."

"I remember July 10, 1890, very distinctly. My father was Surveyor General and we had moved from Big Horn County to Cheyenne in the fall of 1889, so I grew up in Cheyenne and it is still 'home.' "

THANK YOU

As the end of the year approached, so many complimentary letters concerning the past three issues of the ANNALS were received that it has been most encouraging to the staff in planning the Golden Anniversary quarterly issues for this year of 1940.

These expressions of approval and commendation are especially appreciated and it is to be regretted that personal acknowledgment cannot be made, but with the regular full schedule of duties and the extra work involved in preparing material for the Anniversary numbers—we are compelled to take this means of saying a big, hearty "Thank You!"

INTERESTING MUSEUM ACCESSIONS

The Jackson Photographs

A project of most importance for the Museum the past quarter was the assembling of a collection of immense pictures of Yellowstone Park and other Wyoming scenes photographed by the near-centenarian, William H. Jackson, only living member of the Hayden Geological Survey party, for which he was official photographer in the Yellowstone Park survey of 1871.

Mr. Jackson, now 96 years old, was commissioned in 1892 by the State of Wyoming to make a series of large photographs for the exhibit of Wyoming scenery at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and these pictures represent a part of that series. They have been enhancing the walls of the various State offices in the Capitol building at Cheyenne the past half century, as well as the chambers of the Supreme Court Judges in the Supreme Court and State Library Building.

Fourteen pictures had been acquired at the end of the quarter. All are in ivory frames, the majority of which are five feet wide, of varying depths, and contain from three to five views each. Arranged on the north wall of the Museum, the display extends around to the east side and makes an imposing and attractive array, of interest to all visitors. Other pictures of the same exhibit are known to exist.

A picture of Mr. Jackson, posed recently in his New York laboratory, where he is still in business, is also on exhibit, and was contributed by the National Park Service, through the late Daniel W. Greenburg.

In an address prepared by Mr. Jackson,¹ for the dedication of the Teton National Park on July 29, 1929, but not delivered on that occasion, he disclaimed honor accorded him as "the" Pioneer Photographer, but expressed preference to be known as "a" pioneer photographer of Wyoming scenes, following earlier adventurers with their cameras.

Said he, "Following these real pioneers I was fortunate, as the official photographer of the Hayden Geological Survey, in having first had the opportunity to give to the world the first photographs of places and scenes of more than ordinary interest; such as the Yellowstone in 1871; the three Tetons, from the Idaho side, in 1872; the Mount of the Holy Cross in 1873; the Cliff Ruins of the Mesa Verde and the Southwest in 1874-'75; Fremont Peak and the Jackson Lake region in 1878—and other places of less importance."

¹Copy of the address is on file in the archives of the State Historical Department.

"This pioneering in photography had its handicaps, as well as other kinds of pioneering. There were no prepared dry plates or handy kodaks. Instead, the photographer had to carry with him the material and apparatus, including an extemporized dark room to work in, for making his own plates as required for each exposure. A pack mule was required to carry his outfit, sometimes, too, depending on the size of camera and length of time afield; and it had to be well packed for frequently there would be rough going. The photographer sought his views, as the hunter his game, in places far removed from beaten trails." * * *

Toward the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Jackson refers to the 1892 commission to make the photographs which comprise the collection first described, and explains that the party was led by Elwood Mead.²

Souvenir Is Reminder of World War Activities

A gold cord fishnet bag which held the bottle of champagne that splashed the prow of the Merchant Marine U. S. Steamship, "Casper," at Hog Island, Pa., in its christening ceremony on June 25, 1919, has been received during the past quarter from Mrs. Charles E. Winter, of Casper, Wyoming, and is on display in the Museum.

Being Natrona County chairman of the Women's Committee for the Fourth Liberty Loan, as well as the Third which preceded, won Mrs. Winter the honor of christening the ship. The gold bag and its container, a handsome mahogany box, were given her as mementos of the ceremonial occasion.

Says Mrs. Winter in her letter of transmittal: "We took in more money per capita than any other county in the United States, and they offered us the Merchant Marine U. S. Steamship to christen in honor of the City of Casper." It was one of the first ten cities in the U. S. to "go over the top" in its Liberty Loan allotment.

The christening was witnessed by 2,000 spectators, including the late Senator John B. Kendrick, Mr. Winter and Fred Morris, of Cody, Wyoming, the latter having an official position in the ship-building yards at that time.

Cornplanter

A farm implement of unusual appearance is a one-man-power corn-planter invented about sixty years ago by one Clesden F. Martin, at Mitchellville, Iowa, for his own use in planting

²The last Territorial and first State Engineer of Wyoming. Was U. S. Commissioner of Reclamation for more than a decade, and died in Washington, D. C., on January 26, 1936, at the age of seventy-eight.

broom corn, and donated to the State Historical Department by Harry Crain, of Cheyenne, Wyoming. The relic was brought to the State in 1908, and used on a dry farm near Campstool approximately 20 miles east of Cheyenne. It was given to Mr. Crain by the inventor's son, Earl L. Martin, during the fall of 1939.

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

The first penitentiary in Wyoming was located at Laramie? In April, 1868, the city of Laramie was platted by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and within a week about four hundred lots were sold. In May the railroad was completed to Laramie and by that time nearly 500 houses had been erected, most of which were of a transient and flimsy construction. When Albany County was established by the first Territorial Legislature, Laramie was made the County Seat, and the same Legislature located the penitentiary here. "Probably no town in the west at that time stood in greater need of such an institution," says Mr. Bartlett, the Historian.

During 1898 the penitentiary at Rawlins was completed, the total cost of the building being over \$100,000, and an Act of February 10, 1899, directed that all prisoners be concentrated in the Rawlins penitentiary during 1900. "The State is now blessed, or otherwise, with two good penitentiaries," was the comment of Governor W. A. Richards when he retired from office in 1899.

Johnson County has the distinction of being the first to hold a County agricultural and stock fair, which took place at Big Horn City in 1885?

One of the first libraries in America to be named for a living poet or writer, is the Robert Frost Poetry Library at the University of Wyoming, Laramie? The library was dedicated by the famous American poet, Robert Frost, on April 18 and 19, 1939. Its purpose is to collect all material written by or relating to Mr. Frost, as well as being a general English library.

The first annual Wyoming Territorial fair of the Wyoming Fair Association was held September 14, 15, 16 and 17, 1886, at Cheyenne? The front cover on the "Premium List" booklet announced: "Competition open to the World."

ACCESSIONS

October 1, 1939, to December 31, 1939

MUSEUM

Miscellaneous

Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming—"Glass Ball Pigeon" and holder from trap. Oldtime "shooting match" equipment in 1875—replaced by present-day clay pigeons.

Winter, Mrs. Chas. E., Casper, Wyoming—Gold fishnet bag which contained bottle of champagne used by Mrs. Winter for christening of the merchant marine, U. S. Steamship, "The City of Casper" at Hog Island Ship Yard, Philadelphia, Pa., June 25, 1919; original mahogany box container for bag, and framed picture of Mrs. Winter, Mr. Winter and Fred Morris, of Cody, at scene of christening.

Hunt, Dr. Lester C., Secretary of State, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Two Wyoming automobile license plates, 1939 and 1940.

Jessel, Paul W., 508 East 10th Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Shot gun, center fire. Found in Grand River brakes, Perkins County, S. D., Old Standing Rock Reservation, by donor's brother, J. C. Jessel of Cheyenne, and Lee McKelvey, of Cheyenne. First observed in the sand about 1906 or 1908 and had been altered from an Old Country gun called a "Zulu."

Schreibeis, Chas. D., Custodian, Ft. Phil Kearney, Banner, Wyo.—11 small pieces found on the Fort site—consisting of 9 nails, part of a hinge, and a bit of burned wood. The Fort was burned by the Indians the day of abandonment in August, 1887.

Crain, Harry, 1721 Central Avenue, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Old home-made corn-planter of about 1880.

Wright, Miss Vester, Home Demonstration Agent, Federal Building, Evanston, Wyoming—A relic from site of old Fort Supply, first Mormon settlement in Wyoming, 1853, near Fort Bridger, being a log seven inches in diameter and forty-three inches long.

Documents

Snow, Mrs. William C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—File of correspondence (eight pieces) between Mrs. Snow and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Senator O'Mahoney, and the Smithsonian Institute, in connection with the moving of the two framed messages of congratulation, from the British women to the Women of Wyoming in 1891, from the Smithsonian Institute to the Wyoming Historical Department, secured in May, 1939; copies of Wyoming Day Proclamation by former Governor Leslie A. Miller, November 16, 1937, and by Governor Nels H. Smith, November 30, 1939.

Redfield, Mrs. James, 311 North Grand, Marshall, Mich.—Original penned letter, dated August 30, 1869, from the first Wyoming Territorial Governor, James A. Campbell, to N. J. Frink, of Marshall, Mich., father of the donor. Received through Governor Nels H. Smith.

Pictures—Gifts

State and Supreme Court Offices—Collection of thirteen five-foot, framed photographs of Wyoming scenes by William H. Jackson, taken in 1892. Assembled for permanent exhibit by the State Historical Department.

Snow, Mrs. William C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Photograph, cast of characters in woman suffrage play, "Wyoming Tea Party," written by Marie M. Horton for the Cheyenne Woman's Club, and first presented by it on December 4, 1935. Unframed. 5x8".

National Park Service, Washington, D. C.—Photograph of William H. Jackson, pioneer Wyoming photographer-artist, posed in 1937, in his New York City laboratory. 5x7".

Books—Gifts

Snow, Mrs. William C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—"Songs From the Last West," by Porter B. Coolidge, of Lander, Wyoming. 122 pp. Poems. 1928.

Books—Purchased

Dale, Harrison G.—The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829, with the original journals. 1918.

Northwest Territory Celebration Commission—History of the Ordinance of 1787. 1937.

Pitcairn, Raymond—First Congress of the U. S., 1789-1791. 1939.

Wilson, Mrs. Eugene—Cabin Days. 1939.

Dustin, Fred—Custer Tragedy. 1939.

Spear, Elsa—Fort Phil Kearny. 1939.

Hosmer, James—History of the Louisiana Purchase. 1939.

Budd, Ralph—Railway Routes Across the Rocky Mountains. 1939.

Moore, Austin—Early Cattle Days in Wyoming. 1939.

Master, Joseph G.—Stories of the Far West. 1940.

Mokler, Alfred—Transition of the West. 1927.

Spring, Agnes Wright, Cheyenne, Wyoming—"How the Oregon Trail Became a Road," by G. W. Martin (1906), 52 pp.

Gifts

Horton, Frank, M. C., Washington, D. C.—Group of 18 maps, including individual states at time of ratification of the Constitution, from 1777 to 1795. Issued by the U. S. Constitution Sesqui-Centennial Commission. Reprinted, 1938, by U. S. Geological Survey. Originals in Library of Congress at Washington, D. C.

Miller, Mrs. Rollie E., Sheridan, Wyoming—Holt's New Map of Wyoming, 1887. 28x31½ inches. Published by George L. Holt, Cheyenne, Wyo., and shows location of ranches and homes of early pioneers.

Cop. 2

ANNALS *of* WYOMING

Vol. 12

April, 1940

No. 2



Freight Oxen at Rest, a Picturesque Early-Day View of the East Side of Main Street, Buffalo, Wyoming, Probably in 1883. (See Page 119.)



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by

The Wyoming Historical Department
Cheyenne, Wyoming



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Published Quarterly
by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
GLADYS F. RILEY
State Librarian and Ex-Officio State Historian
Cheyenne, Wyoming

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In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State's past. The *ANNALS OF WYOMING* is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the *Annals* should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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Diary of Major Wise, an Englishman, Recites Details of Hunting Trip in Powder River Country in 1880

Edited by Howard B. Lott*

INTRODUCTION

This portion of the diary of Major Lewis Lovatt Ashford Wise, covering a hunting trip in the Powder River country in 1880, was written by him while on a journey around the world, which began on February 13, 1880. The author of the journal started from London, proceeded to Brindisi where he boarded the "S. S. Ceylon," cruised through the Suez Canal, visiting in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. He arrived in San Francisco by steamer on August 10, 1880, and from thence came to Wyoming and the Powder River country, where he and his party met with exciting experiences in bagging 64 head of game. Major Wise, himself, was the champion shot, with 23 head. The entries published here begin on August 29, 1880, at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, and end on November 2 of the same year, at Cheyenne, Wyoming.

To Dr. Henry R. Wagner, San Marino, California, is the editor of these notes indebted for information as to the existence of the original diary, with its Wyoming subject-matter, which Dr. Wagner had purchased in 1935 and presented to the Yale University Library.

In presenting the Major Wise diary, acknowledgment is made of the assistance of several others, without whose bit of contributing information the diary, perhaps, would be a little less interesting.

Besides Dr. Wagner, the following persons have contributed the bulk of the material from which these notes have been written, and to them the editor is, indeed, grateful:

To Miss Emily Richmond, of the Yale University Library, for furnishing a copy of the diary from the original manuscript; to the writings of Moreton Frewen; to Albert L. Brock, Edward W. Burnett, Thomas F. Carr, Mrs. F. G. S. Hesse, Fred W. Hesse, Joe LaFors, Fred Pettitt, J. F. Skiles and Mart Tisdale, for many of the notes; to Mrs. Edith M. Chappell for her pamphlet, "History of Fort McKinney;" and to Mrs. J. C. VanDyke for a copy of the Hanna manuscript.

Much work and patience have been expended in the preparation of the notes and I believe they will bear a thorough checking, though it is possible that an error may occur here and there.

—H. B. L.

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Mr. Howard B. Lott, of Buffalo, Wyoming, editor and contributor of the Major Wise diary and supplementing notes in this issue, is a native son of Wyoming. He was born in Johnson County on September 23, 1896, and his parents were Dr. and Mrs. Howard Lott, pioneer Johnson county residents.

He was educated in the Buffalo grade and high schools, and in 1914 entered the U. S. Forest Service. In 1918-1919 Mr. Lott served in the World War, and entered the U. S. Postal Service in 1925. At the present time is a clerk in the Buffalo postoffice.

Keenly interested in the history of the Powder River country, Mr. Lott has written a number of articles on early-day historical events in that section which have appeared in Wyoming and Montana newspapers and magazines.

Rock Creek—Fort Fetterman

SUNDAY, AUGUST 29. We were called at 3:30 and by 4 we were in the coach and off. For many miles we drove over flat prairie. On it we saw heaps of antelope—some quite close to the trail. Towards afternoon we got into a canyon, which is a sort of valley or pass, enclosed with rocks; here we saw some sagehens for the first time, whole coveys of them. They look much like greyhens, only much larger, nearly as large as guinea fowl. The young are, I am told, good to eat, but the old ones taste of sagebrush; anyhow we were not adventurous enough to try. The trail now became worse, and we got a good jolting before arriving at Fort Fetterman¹ at 7 P. M. having driven 80 miles. Here are stationed two companies of U. S. soldiers. Frank felt indisposed and wished to see the Doctor here; the only one for many miles around. He was out, so Frank determined to stay the night. I thought I might as well go on, as all our kit was on the coach and there was nothing really serious the matter with Frank, and we should each have more room for the night drive, so at 8 I started again alone. It soon began to get chilly, so I rolled myself up in my 'possum rug and tried to sleep, a feat by no means easy to accomplish in a jolting coach with one's legs cramped up. However, after a time wearied out, I dropped off and remember no more!

Powder River

MONDAY, AUGUST 30. I passed, as may be supposed, a somewhat uncomfortable night, but I slept every now and then, when the jolting was least. About 6 I unwound myself. We were jogging along over the "boundless prairie." As far as the eye could see in every direction were grass rollers like the big rolling billows of the ocean. The grass was rather yellow and burnt up after the summer. Here and there broods of sage-

¹ Fort Fetterman, a military post built on the Platte at the mouth of La Prele Creek in 1867 and named in honor of Colonel W. J. Fetterman who was killed with many of his command near Fort Phil Kearny, Dec. 21, 1866. It was built by the enlisted men of Companies A, C, H and I, Fourth Infantry, under command of Major William Dye. It became quite a prominent military post with the abandonment of Forts Reno, C. F. Smith and Phil Kearny in 1868. (Coutant's History of Wyoming, p. 594.) It had been abandoned by 1890. (John F. Finerty, 'War-Path and Bivouac.')

² McKinney. A cantonment built at the Bozeman Trail Crossing of Powder River in 1876. It was known as Cantonment Reno and construction was begun in September, 1876, by Captain Pollock with two companies of the Ninth Infantry. Winter quarters were maintained in holes excavated in the faces of clay banks. A much better fort was built the next summer, numerous buildings of cottonwood with dirt roofs. In 1878 the post was transferred to Clear Creek, near the present Buffalo, Wyoming.

hens were to be seen, and an occasional deer. The last 17 miles of the journey the trail was very bad. The country was cut up with water courses, in and out of which we had to bump. At last about 2 P. M. we arrived at Powder River 90 miles; in all 170 miles, in 34 hours. I was much less tired than I expected. Visions of wapiti and grizzlies, I suppose had some effect. This is a deserted Fort; called McKinney.² The log huts, built in a large square, are still standing. Frewen's³ store is in one of them, and there are two or three bedrooms there, rather rough and ready, one of which I secured. Frewen's Ranche is 23 miles nearer the Big Horn Mountains and I sent a note to Moreton Frewen,⁴ telling him I had arrived. I was very tired towards night, and turned in early—no sheets—only a pair of blankets to get between, but I was soon asleep notwithstanding.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 31. I slept like a top last night. I turned out about 7 and went out and pumped myself a pail full of water for a tub. It was a beautiful morning, but not hot by any means. I pottered about waiting for Frank, who turned up about 2 p. m. Just before he arrived Moreton Frewen came

³ A store, or rather commissary, maintained by Moreton Frewen in one of the deserted buildings on the south side of Powder River opposite the site of Cantonment Reno, or Depot Fort McKinney. Frewen sold the building to W. E. Hathaway and he operated it as a store and placed Mr. Andy Kennedy in charge. It was short lived, however, as Buffalo was rapidly becoming the trading center of the new Johnson County.

⁴ Moreton Frewen was born in 1853 at Northiam, Sussex, England, the family home since 1583, which his ancestor, Richard Frewen, had purchased in that year. He first came to America in 1878 with John Adair at whose invitation he was to be a guest at the Adair Ranch in Palo Duro canyon of the Staked Plains of Texas. During the next thirty-five years Mr. Frewen made over 100 crossings to and from America. That he was a man of prominence in England there is no doubt and his position and culture admitted him to friendship with many prominent and influential persons in America. In 1913 he stated to President Wilson that it had been his privilege to shake the hand of all his (Wilson's) predecessors since Buchanan. Senator Blaine, William Jennings Bryan, P. T. Barnum, Senator Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, General Sheridan, W. K. Vanderbilt, President Wilson, Owen Wister and many other prominent Americans were his friends.

Landing in New York on this first trip to America, Frewen remained there a few days, then on to Philadelphia, then to Washington and thence on to Chicago. Here he met General Sheridan, and, after a few weeks spent in Texas, he again returned to Chicago, and from the General received such wonderful tales of the Upper Yellowstone region and the wondrous wealth of big game there that his Texas trip seemed but a prelude of greater joys. He returned to England in July resolved that he would be on the Yellowstone the following year with a herd of cattle.

in his buggy from the Ranche. We then started for Big Horn Ranche—23 miles—Moreton and Frank in the buggy, and I rode a pony. We had hardly gone a mile, when, going down an awful hill, one of the buggy horses turned stupid, and would not answer the rein; the consequence was, he got to the side of the track, and fell over the edge into a gulch 12 or 14 feet deep,⁵ dragging the other horse and the buggy with him, and there they lay at the bottom, both horses wedged in tight and the buggy on top of them. Frank saw them going and jumped out and Moreton managed to get clear of the buggy, just as it was going over the edge. So far, good, as no one was hurt, which was in itself a marvel. But how to get the buggy and horses out? I rode off back to the post to get some men to come with rope and then we set to work to get the buggy out, which we did by dragging it bodily over the prostrate horses. They were wedged in so tight they could not move so we had to drag them out by their heels, one by one, by main force. Extraordinary as it may seem, the horses were scarcely hurt at all, and the buggy had only the pole broken. The harness, however, was torn all to bits. They are evidently accus-

In the fall of 1878 Frewen again returned to America in a party of six among whom was Gilbert Leigh, of Stoneleigh, of whom more will be said later. Upon his way west he again called upon General Sheridan. This time, however, the General was not so enthusiastic about a game hunt in the Yellowstone Country because of recent Indian hostilities there, the Crows and Blackfeet showing signs of unrest. Instead, he advised the party to go to Rawlins, assuring them that they would find good hunting in the canyons of the Platte and Sweetwater. To Rawlins then, they went. After some two months of hunting the party dissolved at Fort Washakie, all but Moreton Frewen and his brother Dick, returning to England for Christmas. With them were left, of the former party, a cattleman named Tate whom Frewen had brought up from Texas, and a Jack Hargreaves who had come into the Big Horn Mountains five years earlier from Deadwood with a party of prospectors. Hargreaves assured Frewen that the Big Horn Country was quite safe from Indians and that "he should find the ranges between Powder River and Tongue River ideal for cattle and entirely unoccupied." This assurance by Hargreaves decided the party to cross the Big Horn Mountains and see the country on the eastern side. The crossing was effected during the last two weeks in December and what a crossing it turned out to be. The temperature at night was not above zero; Frewen came near to accidentally shooting Jack Hargreaves. A few Indian scares, and a great depth of snow, traversed only by forcing buffalo ahead of the party to break the trail—were some of the difficulties encountered by this party, the pioneers of the first settlers of the Powder River Country unless we consider some fur traders of nearly a half century before as settlers. Moreton Frewen's marriage to a New York lady, and the Home Ranch on the Powder River, will be treated in another note.

Gilbert Leigh, a member of Frewen's second party to America, and who returned to England from Fort Washakie late in the fall of

tomed to little contretemps of this kind in his part of the world, and I don't wonder at it, seeing the kind of road one has to drive over. We were, nevertheless, well out of a very nasty accident. We could not put the horses in again, as the harness no longer existed, so we rode them to Big Horn Ranche, none the worse, only minus any kit, other than what we stood up in. The brothers Frewen have set up a palace⁶ here in the wilderness. They have built the Ranche, of logs of course, themselves, and fitted it up most comfortably. They are real good fellows, and have ordered all our stores for us, and camp outfit and have gotten us hunters and horses and everything we can want, and we anticipate great sport. We had a good dinner, and were not sorry to turn into a comfortable bed. Captain Sam Ashton and his wife are now in camp in the mountains.

1878, should be mentioned here because his untimely death in Tensleep canyon connects his name with the history of the Big Horn Mountains. I quote Moreton Frewen in his book "Melton Mowbray and Other Memories" published in London in 1924: "In the autumn of 1884, our dear friend Gilbert Leigh, of Stoneleigh, at that time member for Warwickshire, and who had been one of our original expedition in 1878, arrived from home with Willy Grenfell of Taplow. A very few days later a messenger rode in to say that Leigh was missing, and asking us to send every available man to help search. By the time we reached their camp his body had been found by Bob Stuart, the trapper. Apparently in the twilight he had mistaken the tree-tops of the pine trees sticking out of a deep canyon for some cypress brush, and had walked on and fallen a hundred feet sheer. At least there was this relief, death must have been instantaneous. A good fellow! and after many days I was one of a great congregation of his friends who left him where he now sleeps the last sleep in Stoneleigh Church-yard.

The fatalists may like this note. He was staying at Easton Lodge with beautiful lady Brooke a few days before he left England for the last time. His hostess said, 'Mr. Leigh, don't forget to write your name in my visitor's book; we have a legend that he who forgets that ceremonial observance fails to return to us.' A couple of hours later a friend in the train said, 'Gilly, did you remember to write your name?' 'I clean forgot,' he said laughing, 'I suppose I ought to go back'."

The death of Gilly Leigh occurred in Tensleep Canyon, and high up on the south side one may see a monument marking the place from which he fell to his death.

⁵ Some erroneously believe that this is "Figure 8" draw, which is 12 or 15 miles from the old deserted fort from which Major Wise starts on his trip to the Big Horn Ranche, and he states that he had gone "hardly a mile." The gulch referred to is probably today known as Davis Four Mile draw.

⁶ The Home Ranch: This was the headquarters, the then ultra-modern home, of the Frewen Brothers, Moreton and Richard, of the famous Powder River Cattle Company, or, as it was locally known, the 76 Outfit.

Big Horn Ranche

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1. After breakfast Moreton and I got horses and rode out to look for his herd of horses, which were out loose on the prairie. After a long ride we returned, without having seen anything of them, having crossed Powder River twice. I amused myself learning to throw a lasso, which is by no means easy. In the afternoon the wagon came with our baggage and stores. We expect Capt. and Mrs. Ashton in from the mountains any day now, when we shall go off into camp. Horace Plunket,⁷ a neighbor 14 miles off came here about midday; he seems a very nice fellow.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2. This morning the Ashtons came in from the mountains; they have had some excellent sport. In the afternoon their outfit came in and the "trophies" which made by mouth water! He had some very good sheep heads and some good bear skins; he had killed five of the latter. Frank was not very well this morning.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3. Frank was very unwell last night —nothing serious but he had the "ache" and we had to dose him with brandy. We were very busy all the morning selecting and buying our horses and mules for our outfit. We are

The Home Ranch was located on the left bank of Powder River just below the junction of the North and Middle Forks of that stream. The exact location would be very near the north line of section 13, T. 43 N., R. 81 W., and about on the line between the northwest and northeast quarters of that section. The main building, where the Frewens lived and entertained their distinguished guests, was made of logs obtained from the pine hills in the vicinity and shaped and fitted entirely by hand labor. It was of two stories and constructed at a cost of approximately forty thousand dollars. The main room was about forty feet square with a large fireplace in both the east and west ends. This room also served as a dining room on occasions when the regular dining room was inadequate for a large number of guests. Off from this main room was another large room which served as a library and office. Another room, not so large, served as a living room, all of which, together with the kitchen and pantry, completed the plan of the ground floor. In one corner of the main room and ascending to the second floor, a very handsome stairway of solid walnut had been constructed. At the time the building was demolished about 1912, these stairs were purchased by M. H. Leitner of Sussex who used them for many years in his home there. The second floor was divided into sleeping quarters and about half way up the stairs or perhaps a little more than half way, and extending along one side of the main room from the stairs, there was constructed what would now be known as a mezzanine floor, which overlooked the main room. All interior woodwork was of the best hard wood brought from England. And over what roads!

And now for a bit of history of the 76 Outfit itself, condensed from the writings of Moreton Frewen. After crossing the Big Horn

going to make a start tomorrow. A young fellow named Alston, a friend of Moreton, is going with us, so our party consists of: W. C. Alston⁸ and his hunter, Big Bill;⁹ Frank¹⁰ and his hunter, Tex;¹¹ L. A. W. (Wise) and his hunter, Hanna;¹² Henry the cook;¹³ Ed, horsekeeper and odd man;¹⁴ "Whitey" a mongrel dog belonging to Bill; 18 horses and 3 mules. Total 8 men, 21 horses and mules, and 1 dog.

The weather is delicious and we are all in great spirits—except poor Frank, who is far from well. I am not sure that he will be able to come with us just yet. Alston seems a nice young fellow, and likely to prove a pleasant companion.

Big Horn Mountains

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4. Alston and I with our outfit, left the Ranche this morning at 10. Poor Frank was not fit to come and by Frewen's advice went off to Fort McKinney to the Hospital where he will find a doctor; a long drive for him, poor fellow, of 70 miles. He is to join us as soon as he is able. We arrived without mishap at Nicol's¹⁵ Beaver Creek Ranche at 6 p. m. having marched 30 miles. We saw some deer and some bear tracks on the way. During the march Henry, who is a German, and not a great rider, irri-

Range in December of 1878 as related in a previous note, the brothers Frewen, Jack Hargreaves and the cattleman Tate, arrived somewhere on what Frewen terms the Main Fork of Powder River but which is apparently the Middle Fork. Pushing northward along the eastern base of the mountains, they arrived at the North Fork of Powder River, where it leaves the mountains, with Dick Frewen ill. Here they met one Bob Stuart, a beaver trapper, as glad to see them as they were to see him. From Bob Stuart, or 'Dirty Bob,' as he was later known, they obtained information of the surrounding country, etc., and particularly that about fifteen miles lower down on that stream they would find a deserted cabin. They pushed on with the sick man and finding the cabin, moved into it. It wasn't much but it was a shelter. Here they remained for two weeks awaiting Dick Frewen's recovery. During this period Moreton Frewen and Jack Hargreaves rode northward to Fort McKinney on Clear Creek, some three miles west of Buffalo, for supplies, as the coffee, flour and sugar had run low. At the fort they observed a small herd of cattle kept there for beef and milk. These cattle were in excellent condition although wintered on native grass only, and Moreton Frewen became satisfied that this Powder River country would be ideal for running large herds. But Powder River itself, being nearer the railroad than Fort McKinney or Clear Creek, was finally decided upon as the right location for their future home. Much care was taken in the selection of the spot and the following spring the actual work of construction began.

About the middle of February, 1879, Moreton Frewen left the Powder River country and returned to New York. On the way he stopped over in Washington and secured the aid of 'Uncle Sam' Ward in an endeavor to have Congress include the Wind River Country in

tated his horse, who promptly bucked him off and then proceeded to get rid of his saddle and kit, which strewed the trail for half a mile. At last we collected the goods and put Henry on again, and resumed our march. We were joined, just as we started, by a newspaper correspondent who is traveling to the Yellowstone to write an account of it, and who asked to join our camp. He is a boy to talk and for a time was rather amusing, but he soon began to bore us. We pitched our little tent and soon had our first camp fire going and dinner ready. About 9 we turned in. We have War Office valises, on which we sleep on the ground, and very comfortable they are.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5. We struck camp and marched at 8 to the head of Red Fork,¹⁶ about 14 miles; on the way we killed a rattle snake. We also saw some mountain sheep and Alston went to try and kill one, as we wanted some meat—the News Press Correspondent must needs go too, but did nothing but talk and fire off his rifle wildly. Alston killed one and Hanna shot another, an unnecessary proceeding for which I rebuked him. Further on, we saw a large herd of bison, some antelope, and some blacktail deer, all at the same time. We were ascending the mountains all the time, and

the newly organized Yellowstone Park, but this venture in American politics was doomed to failure. Several weeks were spent in New York during which time he met Miss Clara Jerome, a daughter of Leonard Jerome of that city. In 1881 Miss Jerome became Mrs. Moreton Frewen and that year returned with him to the new home on Powder River. In April of 1879 Mr. Frewen again returned to the Home Ranch on Powder River from his trip east and upon his arrival there found that his brother Dick, supervising the work of a dozen men with broadaxes, had squared and faced many of the pine trees of the hills into logs ready to go into the new home. While in Chicago he had ordered the lumber and roofing shingles and had also purchased the furniture for the new home. By the latter part of autumn the Frewens were occupying the Home Ranch and the latch-string was out for the aristocracy of England and also America.

A few lines will now be devoted to the 76 Outfit, the Powder River Cattle Company. There were stories as to how the seller of the 76 cattle handled the actual count of them when they were turned over to the 76, as related by Moreton Frewen in his book referred to above:

“And that summer, (1879) we drove in a fine herd of cattle, buying the 76 brand from Tim Foley, a ranchman on the Sweetwater. There have been for forty years all sorts of stories about this purchase, of the cock-and-bull order, reflecting on Mr. Foley’s integrity and our intelligence; that he had driven the cattle round and round a hill and sold the same beasts twice over—stories without a vestige of truth. We had followed the general method of buying cattle in those days, which was to go carefully into the books of sales and of calf branding during the two or three years previously, and then buy at so much

pitched our camp at some 8,000 feet above the sea in a very bear-y looking spot, by the side of the creek. We had dinner at 4; while at dinner three unfortunate bison appeared wandering over the hill towards the camp. The irrepressible press correspondent seized his rifle and went off in pursuit. We heard 10 shots but he had nothing to show when he returned! We sat round the camp fire in the evening. Though the days are very hot, the nights are equally cold, and I sleep with two blankets and a 'possum rug over me. We chatted and smoked till about 9 and then turned in. Just at sunset a great wapiti came and stared at us from the top of a rock above us.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6. Hanna and I were off soon after sunrise this morning. We rode for some time, seeing lots of blacktail deer and bison. At last we saw some wapiti in a wood so we tied up our horses and went in on foot. There was a grand band of them there, and I shot a bull of 10 points, but I missed the "big one" of the herd. We cut up the bull I had shot, and brought the meat back to camp, which we reached about midday. I then had a bath in the creek while dinner was preparing. Meanwhile, the irrepressible press correspondent had discovered a harmless bison wandering near our camp and had promptly shot him. For

per head, reckoning that in a state of nature a herd was five times the number (inclusive of the calves) which had been branded the previous year.

"It was a fine herd of cattle, a heavy stocky shorthorn breed, and the following year we marketed the three-year-old bullocks, I think eight hundred head, the value of which refunded us considerably more than 50 per cent of the original purchase money for the 76 herd."

The magnitude of the 76 Outfit is extremely interesting. We have seen one example in the Home Ranch built practically in a wilderness, for in 1879 Johnson County had not even been organized as a county. This occurred in 1881 and incidentally Moreton Frewen had a hand in it, too. The assessment roll of the county for 1883 lists several small holdings, perhaps ten that go as high as \$20,000 with three or four reaching fifty thousand, two under a hundred and the Stoddard & Howard or LX Bar, managed by Ernest Copps, assessed at \$203,351. But the 76 topped them all. It was managed by F. G. S. Hesse and the 1883 valuation was \$322,350.00 of which \$305,700.00 was for 17,100 head of cattle. The Home Ranch (no land) \$5,000. A nice tax revenue for an infant county of the age of two years.

⁷ Sir Horace Plunkett, an Irish nobleman, a man who did much for Ireland and for his reward, his home bombed to ruins in his absence. When Major Wise met him he had embarked in the cattle business on Powder River and was living at E. K. mountain near the present town of Mayoworth. A close friend of Fred G. S. Hesse.

⁸ Alston was a Scotchman, of the Cattle Company of Peters and Alston, Bar C Ranch, Hole in the Wall Country.

⁹ Nothing further than as mentioned in the journal.

no reason! There is plenty of meat in camp and he only shot him for shooting sake. He cannot help letting off his rifle on every available opportunity. The consequence is, in a day or two we shall be stunk out of camp by the brute's carcass. We devoutly wish the P.C. would continue his researches towards the Yellowstone and leave us in peace. Alston went out with Bill and returned about 5 p. m. without game, but he had seen plenty and had had some shots. After dinner I had a pipe and then 40 winks till about 4 p. m., and then Hanna and I saddled a couple of horses and went out to look for bears. We returned just as it was getting dark, without having seen any. After some tea the evening passed with pipes and some yarns of Indians and hunting from the hunters round the camp fire, till 9, when we all turned in.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7. We were all off about 6 this morning. Hanna and I soon found wapiti, and I shot a nice bull of 11 points¹⁷ after a long and hot stalk in a wood. We cut him up and put him on a pack horse, which we had brought with us. We saw lots of antelope, blacktails and bison, and also some bear tracks. We got back to camp about 1 when I had my bath and then dinner. Alston and Bill did not return till 7 p. m., having had a long day after a big bunch of wapiti; he had killed a fine bull. I did not go out in the afternoon, but remained in camp, and cleaned my two wapiti heads.

10 "Frank" is F. R. S. Boughton, an Australian, who had been in the hospital at Fort McKinney, and with Hanna joined Major Wise on September 15. It is thought he stayed in this country and entered the cattle business on the Laramie Plains. His middle name was Rouse, after a British Admiral.

11 Tex was not a Texan; he was an Englishman. He never talked. Fred Hesse told me he had been an officer in the heavy artillery at Woolwich Arsenal. Not further identified.

12 Hanna, Oliver P. He was born in Metamora, Illinois, May 10, 1851. When sixteen he came west, arriving on the headwaters of the Yellowstone August 11, 1867. In 1871 he was with the party of Dr. F. V. Hayden exploring the Yellowstone Park Country. Was with Colonel Baker's expedition down the Yellowstone, with Custer in the Yellowstone Country and in 1876 was guide and hunter for an English hunting party in Colorado. He was the first settler in Sheridan County, 'squatting' on land above Big Horn on August 11, 1878. Mr. Hanna died in California. (Manuscript, "Northern Wyoming in the Early Days," by Mr. Hanna; copy loaned by Mrs. J. C. Van Dyke.)

13 Henry Harrington. "Black Hank," gambler and horsethief. Moreton Frewen tells of Black Hank's part in robbing a military paymaster en route to Fort McKinney to pay the troops there subsequent to Frewen's securing his (Black Hank's) signature to a document petitioning for the organization of Johnson County. When questioned as to capital of the signers, Black Hank 'listed' the capital which

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8. We struck camp this morning. On rounding up the horses we found that two were missing. Bill thought that they had gone on the back trail, so set off after them, while we marched 10 miles N.W. To our great delight we here left the P.C. behind, as his trail lay in another direction. On the march, we noticed a man on horseback a long way off, who appeared to be trying to hide himself. After an hour's marching we saw him again on the top of a ridge clearly watching us. I dismounted and had a good look at him through the glasses. I could see that he was a white man but that was all. I told Hanna about it, but he did not seem to think much of it, as we believed that Lord Caledon's party were camped somewhere in that direction. (He afterwards turned out to be Lord Rodney, who had mistaken us for Indians!) We pitched our camp and turned the horses out to feed, while we had our dinner, keeping only one back, as usual, to ride out on, to round the others in at night. After dinner Hanna went off for this purpose, and after a long time he returned alone, saying he could not find a trace of the horses, and was afraid that they had been stolen and that that man who had been watching us was a horse thief. Here was a predicament to be in! Afoot, with all our campkit, etc. and some 55 miles from the Ranche! Nothing for it, but to hope he was wrong and to turn in and make the best of it. Anyhow we had one quod left.

he and his robber friends intended taking from the paymaster. Previous to his meeting with Frewen, it appears that Black Hank had been arrested in Dakota for rustling four span of army mules. His story to Frewen was this: "I told the jedge at Cheyenne, 'Jedge, this time you have got quite the wrong man. I never did pinch any outfit of any Government mules. I twice got twelve, and now and again one span, and two, but never happened on four span; you are dead wrong.'" Black Hank was released.

¹⁴ Ed., horsewrangler, probably Ed Warmsly. No mention by Mr. Frewen.

¹⁵ Nichol. Probably the man after whom the N H Ranch and N H Trail were named. The ranch was that now known as the Condit ranch on Beaver Creek, the present Barnum, Wyoming. The old N H trail was really an old Indian trail crossing the Big Horn Mountains. It left Beaver Creek at the N H ranch and followed up the south side of the stream, crossed the mountain and came out on No Wood Creek at the old Red Bank post office, the ranch of George McClellan or 'Bear George.' It was one of the oldest trails across the mountains and during the early eighties was the route of travel between the Big Horn Basin and Buffalo, county seat of the then larger Johnson County.

¹⁶ One of the principal mountain tributaries of Powder River. It flows into the middle fork some five or six miles below Barnum.

¹⁷ Major Wise apparently counts the points of both sides of the horns.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 9. Last night we had a heavy squall of wind and rain and I had to get up in the middle of the night and go round our little tent and loosen the tent ropes. Hanna went off at daybreak on our only horse to try and track the rest of the horses. He returned about 10 having seen nothing of them; he tracked them by their trail ropes for about 3 miles, and then the long grass concealed the tracks and he could see no more. We had now no doubt that rascal watching us yesterday had got them safe enough. I lose 6 horses; Alston 3; Henry 1, and Hanna 1. We now think that the two horses missing on Tuesday night have also been stolen. In the afternoon Alston and I went out with Hanna, all on foot, much to our disgust. We climbed a terrible hill, and when we arrived at the top, we were rewarded by the sudden appearance of a blacktail buck, which I promptly shot! He had 10 points. Further on we saw signs of bear, so Hanna suggested that we should shoot a bison bull as bait. We soon found one in a good place, as they swarm about here, and Alston and I shot him between us. We then returned to camp, and while washing our hands before supper, to our huge delight we saw Bill returning with his two runaway horses and **all ours!** He had come across the latter quite by chance, on his way here, some miles from camp. We can only conclude that they were stampeded that night by a bison or a bear. All's well that ends well! And we were mightily pleased to get back our quods!

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10. We were off this morning as usual soon after sunrise. I soon saw four wapiti and stalked them but they were in velvet. I got within 30 yards of them and stood behind a tree for a long time watching them. We saw lots of blacktail and antelope, but no fine heads, and as we do not want meat, I let them alone. I saw and shot at a black fox, but I shot carelessly and missed him! We soon came on a bison bull lying down, and I thought I would have a gallop, so I handed my rifle to Hanna and rode at him. Up he got and went off at scare and we raced for a mile over some rather rough ground, till I got within 20 yards of him, when suddenly, having I suppose had enough, he stopped, put down his old head, and charged right at me! I fired my revolver at and hit him, as he came and then whipped my pony round and bolted. He did not come far, and then we again resumed our former positions. I got within 8 or 10 yards of him and fired 3 more revolver shots, but I don't think I hit him. It is not very easy to use a revolver effectively when going at full gallop! Just then I noticed that my picquet rope had become loose and fearing a cropper if the pony got his

leg through it, I reluctantly pulled up, and old Bully pursued the even tenor of his way, not much the worse, I fancy! We then turned towards camp, and on the way I had two long shots at an antelope buck, but missed him. In camp I found Alston had returned without any luck. After dinner and customary pipe and forty winks, we went out about 3:30; I did not see anything with a head good enough to shoot. When I returned I found Alston had killed an antelope buck, with a very good head.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11. It was awfully cold last night; the tea in our camp kettle, and the drinking water in the pail were frozen $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick. It had also snowed a little during the night; it is a curious climate—so cold at night, and yet our noses, ears and necks are all peeling with the heat of the sun by day. I went first this morning to the carcass of the bison we had killed for bearbait; I found a bear had been there, and had already had his breakfast. We then went a long round, but saw nothing worth shooting. On returning to camp for dinner I found that Alston had killed a fine wapiti with a head of 18 points. In the afternoon, Hanna and I started on foot, intending to visit the bison carcass about sundown—hoping to find Bruin having his dinner. We got there about 6 p. m. but found nothing. We were just starting back for camp, when over the brow of the next hill appeared two bears, making straight for us. We turned and had just time to rush out of sight behind a rock; the bears came right up to the bison, and began to eat. I crawled up to within 120 yards; I could not get nearer, without their seeing me, and if they had, they would probably have made off, without giving me a good chance at them. I fired a barrel at each and knocked both over; both got up again and began to go up the opposite hill. The first seemed so badly hit, that we thought he could not get away, so we pursued the second. I never saw a bear die so hard; we hit him four or five times and had a most exciting chase and fight before we killed him. This was my first introduction to a grizzly; there is no doubt there is much more life and fight in them than in the black bears I used to kill in India. Meanwhile No. 1 bear had crawled up the hill and disappeared over the brow. It was now getting dark, so we went back to camp, hoping to find bear No. 1 dead tomorrow.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12. It froze very hard last night—everything freezable was frozen—even Alston's sponge close alongside him in the tent. We had intended this to be a “dies non,” but we had to go to skin the bear, so I took my

rifle with me, in case bear No. 1 was not dead. We tried to track him but could not make out his trail, the ground was so rocky. He must have gotten into a hole in the rocks somewhere. It is a great pity to lose his skin, as he is probably dead by this time, if we could only find him. We skinned No. 2 and came back to camp. I then washed two flannel shirts, 4 handkerchiefs and a pair of stockings! and then made myself a pair of mittens out of a horse rug, as the mornings are so cold before the sun is up that my fingers become useless.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 13. We struck camp this morning and marched 8 miles N. and camped on a nice stream—the north fork of Powder River. We arrived at 1, and the sun was so warm, and the river looked so nice that Alston and I had a bathe, and enjoyed it immensely—though the water was cold. After we had pitched our tent and had dinner we went out shooting. I saw a silver gray fox and a lynx and some deer, but did not get a shot at any. Alston saw the tracks of a bear, so shot a bison bull as a bait.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14. A sharp frost last night. We sent Hanna down for more stores this morning; he has about 70 miles to go, and ought to get down in two days. Alston and I went out to get some meat, as we had none in camp. After a long ride we came across some blacktail, and Bill got a shot and killed a doe, which we cut up and carried straight off to camp for dinner. In the afternoon we went to the bison carcass to look for a big bear, whose tracks we had seen. We waited till dusk, but he did not come. A silver grey fox however, put in an appearance, and Alston made a good shot at 80 yards and killed him. We skinned him and returned to camp.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15. A very sharp frost last night; some parts of the river were frozen over this morning. Alston and I went out in the morning, but had no sport. In the evening we walked up to the bison carcass and sat there in hopes the bears would come. We waited till after dark, as there was a moon, but without success.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16. Alston and I went out for a long round, but saw very little game. I killed a blacktail, as we wanted meat in camp; on our way back we saw a great many bear tracks. We went in the evening again to the bison carcass. A bear came near, but unfortunately the wind was shifting about, and he winded us, and went off, without giving us a chance.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17. We got up very early this morning so as to get the bison carcass by daybreak in hopes of catching bruin, but he is too clever for us, and we saw him not! We went out in the afternoon, but did nothing.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18. Alston and I with Bill started after breakfast, and after a long ride we heard some wapiti calling. We had a long stalk through a big wood, and, eventually, Alston and I got a bull each, both 12 point heads. While we were cutting off the heads, a terrific thunderstorm came on and in a few moments we were drenched to the skin. No sooner was this over, than the wind suddenly changed, and it began to snow and freeze. Our plight was piteous! My Kackee clothes, well soaked with rain, soon froze hard as boards; it was too bitterly cold to ride, so we set to work to walk back to camp, some 7 or 8 miles over the mountains dragging our unwilling steeds after us. It snowed heavily the whole time, and we got back to camp about 6 p. m. half frozen. We had dinner, and then went to bed to get warm. We found that Hanna had returned with our stores and Tex had come with him, as a hunter for Frank who is on his way to us. I got two letters from home.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19. It froze like mad during the night, and more snow fell; everything was covered up in snow and we, none of us, could find our things; one man had lost his bridle and another a spoon or fork and we were all poking about with sticks in the snow. Luckily, in the morning the sun came out and we were able to dry our soaked clothes—a necessary proceeding when one has only two suits, one on and one off. I sent Hanna off about midday to guide Frank to our camp. He has Ed with him and is about 12 miles away. In the afternoon we found that we were short of meat, so I went out with my rifle for an hour, and killed a blacktail buck of 11 points. Frank and Ed had arrived in camp when I returned, Frank looking much better and quite himself again. It was bitterly cold at night.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20. It froze awfully hard last night. Bill said we had at least 30 degrees of frost. We three were all stowed in our small tent, so close that our valises touched; locomotion in the tent is impossible because our valises cover the whole floor, but we keep each other warm. I went out with Hanna and killed a fine wapiti of 12 points, a long shot of about 250 yards. Coming home I found a splendid head of a wapiti, which I suppose, had been wounded last year and had died. It is a fine head of 15 points and well preserved

so I quickly appropriated it. Frank went out with Tex and killed a bull bison. Alston was out with Bill, but did nothing. We spent the afternoon cleaning deer heads.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21. We heard last night that the Crow Indians were camped about 8 miles off and were hunting in the Big Horn Canyon, which was where we had intended to go, so we determined to change our route, as they will have scared all the game away from the Canyon. Accordingly, we struck camp and marched 18 miles south. We amused ourselves on the march by shooting at the sagehens running among the sage brush, with our revolvers, but without much success. We got to our camp for the night about 5, and soon had our little tent up and the fire going for dinner, and all snug for the night.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 22. We struck camp and were off early, marching south. We saw great numbers of sagehens and had many shots at them, but they are not easy to hit with a six-shooter! At last, as Frank wanted a mouth-piece for his pipe, I killed one with my rifle. We three rode on in front, when nearing our camping ground, to choose a nice camp, as we expect to stay here some time. We chose a beautiful spot, on the edge of a pine wood, close to the creek and with plenty of grass for the horses close by. Close to camp we saw four bears, rooting, who made off on seeing us, without giving us a chance of a shot. We soon had our tent up, and after dinner we sat around the camp fire and had songs; Henry the cook, who is German, being very great with Die Wacht am Rhein!

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 23. We were all off this morning with our respective hunters in different directions. I soon found some blacktail and shot a nice buck of 11 points. Soon after I killed a bison bull as a bear bait, and coming home, we came suddenly on a herd of antelope. There was one buck with a very fine head, which I killed at about 130 yards. When I got back to camp I found that Alston had done nothing, and Frank had killed a bull bison for bait, in a very good place for bear. We were employed all afternoon in making a log shelter to keep off the wind and possible snow round the camp fire. The nights lately have not been nearly so cold, and the days are very warm.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24. We all went out as usual this morning. I found a wapiti, a small bull, and as I wanted a bait for bear I shot him. He was in poor condition and his horns were small and broken and not worth taking. We

went on and soon came to an immense band of wapiti. I never saw such a sight, there were at least 400 in the band, and some 70 or 80 fine bulls. Here was an opportunity to get what heads I wanted at once and have done with it, as I wished to devote myself to bear hunting—so I shot three! All fine heads 13, 13, and 12 points, respectively. Frank killed a wapiti, a small one; Alston did nothing. In the evening we all went out to look for bear; Frank was unlucky enough to drop his rifle and break the stock. I saw nothing, but Alston came on a family of four bears—cinnamon—mother and three cubs. He shot one of the cubs and badly wounded the mother. It got too dark for him to look for her, but he hopes to find her tomorrow. These are probably the four we saw when we came to this camp.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25. I went out early to fetch in my three wapiti heads. It was very cold, having snowed a little during the night. We had a long cold job, cutting off and cleaning the heads. Alston went out to look for his wounded she bear, but could not find her. Frank shot a black-tail buck. We were all busy in the afternoon, pegging out the bearskin, cleaning the heads, etc. The sky was cloudy and we had no sun, consequently it was very cold.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 26. A very cold night, with hard frost, but the clouds have cleared off and we have bright sun. We cleaned our rifles, washed shirts, etc., during the morning. In the evening, Frank asked me to go with him to look at the bison carcass that he had shot as a bait. We rode out, and for some time could not find it. At last, we found it at some distance off. I thought it looked an odd shape, and pulled out my glasses and had a look at it. I saw directly that there was a bear having his dinner. We dismounted and tied up our horses and ran across the valley to leeward of him. We got to within about 120 yards of him and then we sent at him. We knocked him over, and then he got up and made for some covert not far off. We bolted after him shooting every now and then, and soon he disappeared in the covert. I had some difficulty in restraining Frank's impetuosity, as nothing is more dangerous than to follow a wounded bear into covert. However, we halted about 25 yards from the edge, and there sure enough was my friend about 20 yards inside sitting up, and looking about to see some one to "come for," when a lucky shot from Hanna who was with us, finished him. He was a fine big bear, a grizzly, and his skin measured 7' 6" by 8'.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27. Hanna and I went off to look at my bear baits. We found one nearly eaten up by bears, and the ground around well padded with their footmarks. We then went on to the wapiti bull I had killed on Friday. He lay just inside a thick covert of quaking asp, so we dismounted and tied up our horses and went down to look at him. We could not see him till we were within 15 yards of him, and when I got there I saw a big bear busily engaged in burying the carcass. I think we saw each other simultaneously, for as I dropped on the knee to shoot, he sat up and looked at me. I fired both barrels and knocked him over, and then he got up again with a loud roar, and bolted through the bush. We followed, and tracked him by his blood for a long way. Meanwhile the bush got thicker and thicker, and more than once, we had to crawl on our hands and knees to follow where he had gone. Here we ought to have stopped no doubt, as had he come for us there we should have been at his mercy, but the bear was a big one, and we were keen to get him, so we determined to follow him. At last, all of a sudden, I saw him quite close, about 8 yards off; he was sitting up looking about him. I told Hanna, who was close beside me, and he told me to shoot. I fired and knocked him down, and the next moment, with a loud roar, he came straight for us. Hanna and I both fired as he came and both hit him, but nothing but a cannon would have stopped such a charge. I took a step to one side, reloading as quickly as I could, but poor Hanna lost his head and turned and ran. The next thing I remember was feeling the bear pass me, touching my legs and then I saw Hanna flying for his life, the bear close behind him. The ground here was a little more open, and Hanna disappeared over a brow, and as the bear topped it, I sent at him and hit him on the stern. Both then disappeared and I rushed after them, reloading as I ran. The next moment I heard a fearful scream and on reaching the brow, I saw the bear worrying at something—growling furiously. Hanna, I could not see. Of course under these circumstances I dare not shoot for fear of hitting Hanna, so the only thing I could do, was, to rush up to the bear and try and blow his brains out. He looked up at me, when I was within 6 feet of him, and then to my surprise, the cowardly brute bolted! I put two bullets into his back as he went; he then stopped in some bushes about 20 yards off, and sat up and looked at me. I shot him again, on which he gave a loud roar and appeared to collapse, but the bushes were so thick I could not see plainly. Anyhow he remained quiet, which contented me! I then looked to

Hanna; he had got up but said he was badly hurt. I had almost to carry him up out of the scrub, not without many qualms that that brute of a bear might come for us any minute! At last I got him out and set him on a rock and then went for the horses, which were about a mile off. Hanna's nerves were quite gone, and he was in a dreadful fright lest I should not find him again. While taking Hanna out, I luckily remembered to blaze the trees, as I intend going for that bear tomorrow, and I should never find the place without some sort of signpost! I got Hanna back to camp in time, but the poor fellow was in great pain. When we stripped him, I found his arm was badly bitten in two places, also the thigh and calf of the leg and he was badly clawed on the head and neck, but nothing broken! Thank God! It might have been worse. Frank did nothing. Alston¹⁸ was out in the evening and shot a skunk, which he brought into camp, and nearly stunk us all out! I bound up Hanna's wounds and made him as comfortable as possible, but he is in great pain, poor fellow.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28. After I had washed and bound up Hanna's wounds Frank and I went off to look for the bear that we had killed on the 26th. Frank had gone out yesterday to skin him, but had been unable to find him. We soon found him, and took off his skin and got back to camp with it in time for dinner. In the afternoon, Alston, Bill and I went to look for my antagonist of yesterday. We went very cautiously to the spot, which bye the bye, I should never have found, but for my blazed trees. We first found poor Hanna's rifle, which he had thrown away in his flight. We looked carefully about, there being a strong smell of bear. At last we found him dead close to where I had last shot at him. He proved to be an old and huge grizzly weighing, Bill said, not less than 1100 or 1200 lbs. He had 9 bullets in him, so all my shots had hit him. We took off his skin and skull in triumph and returned to camp to tell Hanna his enemy was dead! We found that this bear's tusks on one side were broken and blunt, but for this Hanna would have been very much more hurt. I found that my two first shots were direct for his heart, but the bullets had not penetrated so far! The fact is, these small express bullets, as made by Eley, are not heavy enough, and have not substance enough

¹⁸ Alston, together with the Peters of Note No. 24, became partners and started what is still known as the Bar C Ranch on the Middle Fork of Powder River directly south of Barnum. During the nineties it figured much in troublesome times of the Hole-in-the-Wall country of which it is a part.

for such a big beast—and their velocity is so great, that they go to pieces, without penetrating. With my old 12 bore rifle, that I used in India, those two first shots would have ended the days of that bear on the spot.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29. A very sharp frost last night. Hanna is much better this morning. I have made some bandages out of flour bags, torn into strips and stitched together and luckily I have 3 or 4 more handkerchiefs than I want. I have used nothing but cold water changed three times a day, and his wounds are doing well. I went off in the morning with a pack-horse to bring my bear skin and skull into camp, and got back in time for dinner. Hanna was much pleased to see the skull of his enemy and seemed to take a curious pleasure in feeling his teeth! Frank went out in the evening and came across a bear, which his hunter Tex fired at; but whether hit or not is uncertain. Anyhow it got away. I think our adventure has established rather a scare!

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30. Hanna being now "hors de combat," Alston and I have agreed to shoot together with Bill as our mutual hunter. We went out in the morning and I killed an antelope buck. I hit him in the head and broke his skull, so had to take off his horns separately. We left them there to pick up on our way home. We had a long ride, but saw nothing, except a fox, which Bill shot. On returning to the antelope, on our way home, we found the horns gone! I suppose the foxes or eagles had carried them off to pick! In the evening, Alston and I went to look for bear, but had no luck. Frank also went to his bison but bruin was not there. During the afternoon I pegged out by bearskin. (Here in the original diary appears a rough sketch of the bear skin with notation: 8 feet long, 8 ft. 6 in. wide.)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1. It was very cold last night, and a very sharp frost; lots of ice in the river in the morning. Alston and I went out to get some meat. We soon found some blacktail, we shot together, and bagged a buck each. I afterwards shot a very fine buck of 16 points. Hanna is getting on very well. I have given up the cold water application, and now dress his wounds with raw marrow from the bones of deer. It keeps his wounds cool, and they are now healing rapidly. I am quite proud of my surgery! He is also recovering the severe shock to the nervous system, which is sure to follow such a mauling—poor fellow! His gratitude to me is unbounded. In the evening, Alston and I went to

my bison carcass to look for a bear, but without luck. There were about 20 wolves there, and we had a shot each, but it was getting dusk, and it was rather drawing a bow at a venture. It was very dark coming home, and we blundered about over the rocks much to the detriment of our shins! Frank did not go out.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2. Last night Ed put some poison into the carcass of an antelope I had shot, and this morning found five wolves and 2 foxes dead. Alston and I went a long ride without seeing anything; the game seems to have cleared out, though there are lots of bears about. We see their footmarks all about, but cannot come across them. We have worked harder for bear, than for anything else. Frank went out for the whole day, taking his dinner with him. He saw and shot at a blacktail with a very fine head, which he had shot at before; but missed him. The weather is very fine just now—not quite so cold at night.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 3. We remained in camp this morning examining skins, horns, etc. I gave Hanna's wounds a good washing and doing! He is getting on famously, and can now walk slowly about. In the afternoon we cleaned our rifles, etc. Frank went to his bison carcass, but found no bear, though they had eaten it nearly all up.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4. A sharp frost, and very cold in the night. Hanna much better; Frank not very well; he complained of signs of mountain fever, and remained in camp all day. I dosed him with quinine. Alston and I went out and found a large bunch of wapiti. Alston killed one of 12 points, and Bill shot a heifer for food. There were a great many in the band and I could have killed several, had I been so inclined, but I have already got all the heads I require. On our way back we bombarded an antelope buck at long range, but missed him, though he had more than one narrow escape. We agreed in the evening to shift our camp on the morrow.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 5. We moved camp this morning, and marched N. W. about 5 miles. We were in camp and "fixed up" by midday, and after dinner took our rifles and had a look round. We soon found a large band of wapiti and Frank killed a very fine bull—21 points. Alston and I did not shoot as we have already got all the heads we want, and it is a sin to waste good meat. However, it is a great pleasure to look at these great beautiful creatures, so we stalked up to the herd and had a grand view of the whole band, some

30 bulls and 80 or 100 cows and calves. There was another band in the wood close by, which we could hear, but were out of sight. Alston and I went out in the evening after bear, but without success. We are certainly very unlucky about coming across bears.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 6. Alston and I went hunting for bear. We have killed all the deer we want, so confine ourselves almost entirely to hunting bear. We saw much bear "sign" but no "Simon Pure"!¹⁹ Frank went to skin and cut off his big wapiti head, and in the afternoon he got a good blacktail of 10 points. There is a new moon and the weather just now is splendid, so we hope to have a fine fortnight to finish up.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7. Alston and I got up before dawn, and went to our bearbaits to see if these invisible gentlemen take their food early, but we had no luck. It is really extraordinary, and most provoking, how these bears manage to keep out of our sight. There are some about, and by no means few as we can tell by the "sign." We sent Bill down to Barton's²⁰ Ranche for some stores this morning. I amused myself all day making a "travois," on which to carry our many horns! It is simply two long poles, fastened like shafts to a pack saddle, the other ends dragging on the ground, with two cross bars, firmly tied on with rawhide to keep the poles in place. Something of this sort, but I am not a very good draughtsman!

(Sketch of horse and "travois" appears here in original diary.)

The Indians carry their goods and chattels on these "travoises," babies and all! The poles are young pine trees, and as they spring a good deal, the "carriage" is far more comfortable to ride in, than it looks! Hanna is getting on very well; his wounds are healing very fast. We propose going down to Trout Creek²¹ tomorrow for a day or two, trout fishing. We hear the trout are very numerous, and average 1 lb., to 1½ lbs. each.

¹⁹ No apparent connection. Perhaps the Major was using one of the leading American packers 'Simon Pure Leaf Lard'! Probably colloquialism.

²⁰ I am unable to identify Barton's Ranch. He may have been some temporary squatter in the vicinity of Trout Creek, a small stream flowing into the No Wood near the northeast corner of T. 41 N., R. 89 W. See note 21.

²¹ A small stream rising in the northwest corner of Natrona county and flowing north across the Washakie-Natrona County line and into the No Wood. In the early eighties many of the streams on the

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8. Alston and I stayed in camp in the morning washing some clothes, etc. Frank went out and found some wapiti, but did not get any. Bill turned up about noon, with some stores. With him came a "cowpuncher" who has a ranche near Trout creek, and he told us, for some unknown reason, the trout had not come up the river in any great quantities this year, and though there were many, there were nothing like the enormous quantities usually there. This being the case, we thought it hardly worth while going, and decided not to go. In the afternoon we made another "travois" for the rest of the horns, as one won't carry them all! Frank went out in the afternoon but did nothing, and Bill killed a cow wapiti for meat. A very cloudy and unsettled looking evening, and Bill fears we are going to have a storm.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9. Bill proved a true prophet, for, when we woke this morning, we found the ground covered with snow and snowing fast. Under the circumstances we remained laced up in our valises! And got Henry to bring us some breakfast. About 9 it stopped snowing for half an hour and we turned out, but soon it began again worse than ever, and we retreated to our tent. This was not lively, but we made the best of it, and congratulated ourselves that we had not started for Trout Creek yesterday, as we had intended going in the lightest possible marching order, that is, with no tent or change of clothes, and only a couple of blankets each. We lighted a big fire close to the tent door, and there we sat in our great coats on our valises, like three disconsolate crows on a rail! It snowed the whole day without ceasing. We had no books or papers, and there we sat doing nothing. We kept a good fire going, but had to sally forth every now and then to fetch wood; by night there was nearly a foot of snow on the ground.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 10. On waking this morning, we found to our dismay that it was still snowing, and had evidently been so doing all night. The snow was over kneedeep, and the canvas of the tent was frozen hard and stiff as a board. We soon started a fire, and made up our minds to pass another day, making up the fire and watching the snow fall! Had we gone to Trout Creek we should have been out in all this, and unable to get back to camp, as it was impossible to eastern slope of the Big Horn Mountains had no trout in them. Trout Creek and Deep Creek, the next stream of any size down No Wood from Trout Creek, both had an abundance of nice trout in their waters. This Trout Creek is apparently the same stream as mentioned by Major Wise, and Mr. T. F. Carr is my authority that the name was Trout Creek in 1887.

see more than 30 yards! And we should only have taken food for 48 hours with us. So, altogether, we are very well out of it! To add to our troubles, our tobacco is nearly all done, and when that great solace is gone we shall indeed be miserable! I am chiefly concerned for the horses, who are having a bad time of it piequeted out in the open. The snow ceased falling about midday for half an hour, but fell more or less all afternoon. Towards evening, however, there were signs of the clouds breaking and we turned in with great hopes for the morrow. It is very lucky we happened to have a good stock of meat in camp.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 11. It did freeze last night and no mistake! The men all agreed it had been below zero. The meat was so hard we could not chop it with an axe! We were much cheered by seeing a bright sun and blue sky. We set to work to clear away the snow from around the tent, before the sun began to thaw it, and to un-earth our saddles, skins, etc., and hang them all up to dry. We did not go out shooting at all as we feared becoming snow-blind. This delay is very annoying, as we have stores only for 7 or 8 days more and we want to get some mountain sheep. The sun shone all day and much snow went, but a great deal remains, as it was freezing hard all day in the shade. We kept up a big fire and amused ourselves cleaning our rifles, cutting fire-wood, etc.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12. The frost was very severe again last night—about zero, the men said. We had a bright sun again, and the snow is going fast, but there is still too much to permit us to shift camp yet. Five of the horses, too, had strayed; small blame to them, in search of pastures new, or rather not covered with snow! And Ed had to go after them following up their tracks in the snow. Hanna is so much better, that he has today gone down to Frewen's Ranche. His hurts are now practically well, and wonderfully quickly they have healed. Ed returned about midday with our truant horses. In the afternoon, Alston and I rode out to the camp of one Rob Stuart,²² a trapper, about 3 miles from our camp. I got some beaver and fox skins from him for the wife and chicks! It was awfully cold riding back in the evening.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13. Hard frost again last night and very cold, but the snow having a good deal gone, we de-

²² The same as mentioned in Note 6. One of the signers of the original petition for the organization of Johnson County. Also mentioned in Note 4.

terminated to strike camp and march to Sheep Canyon about 8 miles. We carried the horns on the "travoises," and they travelled very well—especially over the snow. We got to our new camp about 3 and were soon snug. Here we hope to get some mountain sheep.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14. It was cold last night so we had a fire in front of the tent, but before turning in, I poured a bucket of water over the fire, as there was much dry grass all round and I feared it would catch fire. Just as I was going to sleep, I was horrified to see the fire blazing up again and some of the grass on fire, so up I jumped and had to run down to the creek for water, just as I was in pyjamas! It was freezing hard, and wasn't it cold! This morning it was fine, and Alston and I went out after sheep. We soon found a fine ram and after a long stalk, Alston had a shot at 200 yards but missed him. Soon after, it clouded over and our old enemy, the snow, began again and pretty well we caught it before we got back to camp! I had no chance of nether garments my other pair being worn out, so had to dry them on me! It snowed for the rest of the day. Our stores are getting very low—tobacco nearly all done and scarcely any meat in camp, so altogether we are in rather low spirits in this bad weather. Frank was out in the morning, and saw some wapiti, but did not get a shot. In the evening a regular gale commenced, and when we turned in, it was blowing and snowing like mad! We only hope the tent will stand up! We all find great difficulty in breathing when walking up hill, owing, I suppose, to the altitude of our camp and hunting ground some 10,000 feet above the sea.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15. The gale last night was awful. Several times I thought the tent must go, but it stood up bravely. It was still snowing heavily this morning but the wind was less. We had coffee and bread for breakfast; we have nothing else. In a very short time the dregs in my coffee cup were frozen in the tent. The creek is completely frozen over and nearly buried in snow. We sent out Tex, as we must have some meat! The snow is very deep in some places, as the gale has drifted it. This is most unusual weather for the time of year. It ceased snowing in the afternoon, and we determined to send Bill down to Barton's Ranche about 8 miles off for some flour, bacon and tobacco. So he started off about 2. Soon after he was gone, it began to snow again heavily. Tex came back about sundown having killed an old ewe; but the fool only brought 2 or 3 lbs. of meat back with him; he was, of course, wet through, and half frozen, but we are all very

glad to get even a mouthful of meat—and wasn't it tough! But it went down all the same. It was bitterly cold and we soon turned in. We each heated a stone in the fire and then put it into our valises to warm our feet!

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16. Worse and worse! It snowed and blew great guns all night, and this morning the snow was falling heavier than ever. It was so bad that we determined to stay in bed till it stopped. Henry managed to heat some coffee—how he did it, I cannot imagine—which we had about 11. It never ceased snowing all day, and in the evening we had some chocolate and bread, which is all we now have to eat; and only two loaves left of that. Bill did not return; it is impossible for him to travel in such a storm, but he knows how hard up we are for food, and will get back the first chance he has, I feel sure. If this goes on much longer, our position will really become rather serious. We amused ourselves all day singing songs, and telling stories, but we were all heartily sick of bed by the evening. The ground too, is not the softest couch to lie on for so long!

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 17. Last night the wind blew, and the snow fell unceasingly, and when we looked out this morning it was still at it! The snow is now quite 2 feet deep everywhere, and where it has drifted it is many feet deep. Between the men's tent and ours, only a few yards apart, there is a drift quite four feet deep. We could not stand another day in bed, so we turned out about 9 in spite of the snow. However, to reward us about 11 the wind fell, and the snow stopped. We had only bread for breakfast. Our bread, with care—it is all divided into equal rations—will last till tomorrow morning. After that we have absolutely nothing to eat. We have sent Tex to look for the sheep he killed on Friday, but I much doubt his finding it, even if he can get to it. To our huge delight, about 2 p. m., Bill hove in sight bringing flour, bacon and tobacco! He had had a terrible journey, but had determined to come. He tried to come yesterday, but the storm was too much for him, and drove him back. Soon after, Tex came in with part of another sheep, which he had had the luck to meet with and kill near camp. He said he had been up to his waist in snow! We soon had a square meal and did not we pitch into it! This evening the sky seems to be clearing, and we hope the storm is over.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 18. Last night we had a clear sky and bright moon with hard frost, and this morning the sun appeared, the wind changed, and altogether it looked more hopeful—so much so, that we determined to go out shooting, in

spite of the deep snow. We all smeared our eyes round with wet gunpowder, to prevent snowblindness. I don't remember ever having had such a walk! We were out from 9 till 3 walking all the time in snow varying from 1 to 4 feet in depth. Two or three times I was up to my waistcoat, and this up and down awful hills, and over very steep rocks, etc. We saw some sheep but did not get a shot. Coming home, we saw a fine blacktail buck, and as Alston wanted a good head, he shot him. He had a fine head of 13 points. Bill shot a lamb for meat. It was wandering about alone and probably belonged to one of the ewes that Tex had shot. It continued fine all day, and was very cold and frosty in the evening. The storm is now over I think, but the snow will take a long time to go—in fact, the drifts will not go till next summer.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 19. A splendid morning; bright sun, a clear sky and a hard frost. The storm is clearly over, but the snow that has fallen is a great nuisance, as we cannot get about, and riding is out of the question. Alston and I started after breakfast, and we certainly had a most tremendous walk. No one can tell the extreme fatigue of walking in deep snow over rough rocky ground, until it has been tried. After a terribly hard walk through the canyon we got back to camp soon after 4, having seen and pursued many sheep, but without getting a shot. These sheep are the most wary and wide awake animals I have ever stalked. The canyons are awfully rough and bad to travel over, and now with the snow, the work is simply killing. We saw and stalked one band of over 20 sheep with 4 or 5 fine rams—one in particular a splendid fellow—but just as we thought we had got within shot, a brute of a fox scared the sheep, and off they went for 3 or 4 miles. We tracked them in the snow for that distance and intend following them up tomorrow. We were very tired when we got back to camp, and of course wet through, as to our lower limbs! While we were out, Bill, who was leading, suddenly sank up to his middle in snow. Without moving, he turned his head, and said very gravely—"Wal! if a man calls this sport, he don't love his Jesus!" The remark, though blasphemous, was not meant as such, and with the absurd position, and the gravity of his face sounded so ludicrous, that we yelled!

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 20. Hard frost, and a bright fine morning. Alston and I started off after our band of sheep. After another fearful grind up the canyon, we saw them all on top of the rocks far above us. We watched them for some time, and saw them move to a plateau of grass, where there was no snow—just below a small precipice. Here we felt

sure they would stay, so we had to retrace our steps, all along the canyon, then ascend to the top, and then go up the canyon again along the top, so as to get above the sheep. We had an awful walk, as the snow was very deep among the rocks. When we got to within half a mile of the place where we had left the sheep, to our intense disgust, we saw fresh horsetracks in the snow, and found that that fool Tex had taken Frank that way. Of course, when we got to the place, the sheep were gone, and our chance of a shot, after two days stalking, was gone, too! The sky shows signs of snow again and the men fear that we may be snowed up, if another heavy fall comes—to say nothing of being starved! So that we have determined to give up the sheep and start down to-morrow.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 21. It was bitterly cold this morning, and I am sure another snow storm is coming. We struck camp after breakfast. The day proved fine, though cold, and we marched 18 miles down towards the Ranche, and camped for the night on Powder River. On the way down we came across a big band of wapiti, and as we wanted meat, Frank and I went after them and shot a cow, after a good chase. As we sat round the camp fire for the last time, I think we all regretted that our hunt was over! I, for one, have enjoyed these seven weeks immensely.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22. After a cold frosty night we struck camp early, and directly after breakfast, Alston, Frank and I got on our ponies and started for Big Horn Ranche 22 miles distant, leaving our outfit to follow more slowly. The trail being fairly good, we rode a good pace and arrived at the Ranch about 1, in time for luncheon. Both the brothers Frewen were at home and gave us hearty welcome. Curiously enough, we had not arrived half an hour when Lords Caledon and Rodney and their outfit arrived, also on their way down to Rock Creek. They too had been driven out by the snow and had only got one ram—otherwise they had had good sport and had had more luck with bears than us, having bagged 15. They went on after lunch, as they are going to march down to Rock Creek, camping by the way. Our outfit arrived about 4, all safe. It seemed so queer and hot, getting into a house again! But I expect we shall all appreciate a nice clean bed tonight. It is much warmer here than in the mountains, and no snow, but there was a heavy fall when we had that storm, and as the thermometer was 10 below zero here at the Ranche, it must have been considerably lower where we were, 2000 feet higher up.

OUR BAG—64 HEAD

Big Horn Ranche

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23. We all slept well in our nice clean beds, but I found the house hot, in spite of the sharp frost, and had to keep my windows open. We packed off our skins and horns on a wagon for Rock Creek in the morning. In the afternoon we three went with Moreton Frewen on horseback to look at some of his cows. It is certainly a luxury to eat at table again, and to get some vegetables and change of food from the everlasting bread and meat of the last two months, and a glass of bottled Bass does taste very good after our long teetotal!

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24. A bright fine day. We had a good go in at accounts this morning and a general squaring up. I find our seven weeks shoot has cost us about £90 apiece! Not a great sum considering all we have done, and how comfortably, taking everything into consideration, we have done it! Alston and Moreton Frewen went off to "Crazywoman"²³ Ranche to see how the cow business is carried on, as Alston has some thoughts of investing. Dick Frewen, Frank and I rode in the afternoon to see the coal mine they have here, within a couple of miles of the Ranche. The coal crops out on the prairie in a big seam some 12 feet thick, and very good coal it is. They just take a wagon there and pick out a load of coal and bring it to the Ranche. Mighty convenient, and worth a mint if it was in England; here it is worthless, at all events at present, except for their own consumption.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25. In the morning Dick Frewen, Frank and I and three of the men, went off on horseback to find and collect the herd of horses. We got together nearly 100 and picked out some to drive back to the Ranche. These we had to "rope" or lasso, and we had plenty of galloping about after them. We got back to lunch, and in the afternoon we went to the river with our guns, again on horseback, to try and find some ducks—but they were not at home, and we did not see any. In the evening, a neighbor, one Peters,²⁴ a young Ranche-man came in. He had a very good voice, and we had a pleasant evening with some good songs.

²³ The Crazy Woman Fork of Powder River. Here, on what is now known as the Billy Hayes ranch, the Powder River Cattle Company located another ranch. Just below it was the ranch, in later years, of Fred G. S. Hesse. The Hesse ranch, together with the 76 brand, is now owned by George S. Hesse.

²⁴ A partner, later, of Ashton's. Peters, T. W., was called, "Twice Wintered," to distinguish him from H. W. Davis who was "Hard Winter." Afterwards a U. S. Consul to Germany; a Philadelphian.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26. This morning I was idle and loafed about the Ranche while Dick Frewen and Frank went out on horseback to see about a telephone²⁵ that the Frewens are putting up between the Ranche and the Old Post at Powder River. In the afternoon we rode out to see a horse corral they are making a few miles from the Ranche in which to round up the horses from time to time. We had a jolly ride, and on returning found that Alston and Moreton Frewen had come back. The former is thinking of becoming a partner with Peters²⁶ in a Ranche near this.

Big Horn Ranche—Powder River

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27. This morning we packed up our small kit, and after lunch we started in the buggy for the old Post, Dick Frewen driving. We had a young horse, almost unbroken, as one of the pair. He was very unsteady and I fully expected a smash. However, we got on fairly well, till about halfway, when in going over one of the numerous "gulches" the young one's trace broke, and we nearly had a mess, but we got hold of his head and prevented further mischief. We mended the trace as well as we could, but soon after it broke again; this time luckily near the Old Post, so at last we got in safely. This is one of the charming animals I am to drive tomorrow and next day some 90 miles to Fort Fetterman! I hope we shall arrive in safety. The Frewens have lent us the buggy to go down to Fetterman in. It saves us our coach fare anyhow and is much more comfortable, if only the young one will behave himself! We sleep here to-night and start early tomorrow.

Old Post Powder River

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28. We were up early, Frank and I and Ed, who comes with us to take back the buggy. We started about 7:30 having said farewell to Dick Frewen and Alston. The "young one" went better than I expected. I took the precaution last night to have the traces properly mended, so all went well and we arrived at Antelope Spring,²⁷ 40 miles, about 4 P. M. This is a roadside Ranche, merely a log hut with mud stuffed between the logs, but we are not

²⁵ A few of the insulators of this line are today, still in position on trees along the river bottom just above the old site of Depot Fort McKinney at the Powder River crossing.

²⁶ Notes 18 and 24.

²⁷ Near the present Ross, northwestern Converse County, on Antelope Creek. Later a stage station on the Rock Creek-Junction City (Montana) stage route.

particular now! At the Post last night a trapper offered to sell me a teepee or Indian lodge made of buffalo hide. A few trappers and cowboys had a fight this spring near here, with a band of Sioux. Two white men were killed, but they whipped the Indians and took their goods from them—among other things, this teepee. Besides being a curiosity to have at home, its history makes it rather interesting, so I bought it. The fight took place in the Big Horn Mountains within a few miles and within sight of the place we were camped on October 5 and following days.

Antelope Springs—Fort Fetterman

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 29. We were up by daybreak, and were much disgusted to find it was snowing. We had breakfast at 6:30 and by 7 were under way. We had a fresh pair of horses today, leaving "Yank," the young one, and his mate here for the return journey, at which I was rather relieved! About 10 it stopped snowing, but was cloudy and cold all day. We arrived at Fort Fetterman at 5 p. m., just 50 miles, the horses having come through wonderfully well, and these quods live on grass! We got some supper, and then took our places in the coach which arrives here anytime between 11 p. m. and 2 a. m. for Rock Creek.²⁸ We only hope we shall be alone, as a night journey with 3 or 4 in these little coaches is no joke!

Fort Fetterman

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30. We lay down in our clothes last night, having given directions to be routed out when the coach came in. We both slept well, nevertheless, and I did not wake till 5 a. m., when the morning gun in the Fort woke me, and I went out to see what had become of the coach. I then found that it had arrived about 4, but that it was full and therefore we could not have gone on, had we been awake. After breakfast we found that some of the soldiers were going to target practice so we went to look on. We soon began to chat with the officers, who were exceedingly civil and invited us to have some shots, which we did. Frank shot very well, but to my disgust, I could scarcely hit the target. They afterwards asked us into their mess hut, where they had a billiard table, and we played billiards and poker all the afternoon. They seemed very decent fellows, indeed, and were very kind and hospitable to us. The coach arrived in the evening about 10:30. Alston and De Bunsen, who is Secretary of our legation at Washington, were in it, so there was a very consider-

²⁸ A station on the Union Pacific R. R. On Rock Creek east of Medicine Bow. The R. R. has since changed and it is no more.

able squash! However, the night was very cold, so we kept each other warm.

Fort Fetterman—Rock Creek

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 31. We had not, as may be supposed, a very comfortable night of it. We got so fearfully cramped, three out of the four being big men. About 2 a. m. the coach stopped and we found the horses were jibbing up a very steep hill, so we all had to turn out and push! Presently we jogged on again, and after a time the coach stopped once more. This time, we found that the coachman, who is a new man, had lost his way! The road such as it is, is nothing more than a track, and he had gone wrong. We drove about for some time over the prairie, crashing through the sage brush, and soon came to a creek which we had to cross. The banks were quite perpendicular, about 3 feet high, but there was no help for it, and down we had to go. Frank and Alston preferred their own legs, but De Bunsen and I were too idle to move and just took our luck. The horses for a long time refused to jump, but at last they went at it with a rush and down we went with a bang and a crash into the creek. How we did not get upset is a wonder. I believe we were rather near it! We soon after struck the road again. We arrived at Rock Creek at 5:30 p. m., after 19 hours squash! We found that Caledon and Rodney had also just arrived, so there was quite a party of us at Thayer's Hotel, so much so that there was very little room. Frank and I could only get one room so we had to sleep together! Our horns and skins have arrived here.

Rock Creek

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1. I cannot say that I slept very well! Frank's ideas of "meum and tuum" in bed, are somewhat vague! And our bed was none of the widest. After breakfast we set to work to unload our wagons and tied up our horns and skins ready for transport tomorrow to Cheyenne, where we are going to have them put into boxes and sent home. Caledon and Rodney were doing the same, so there was quite a display of horns and bearskins, and when the train for the west came in, the passengers all came and stared at them. It cost us £10 each to get the horns, etc. down from Powder River to Rock Creek! So expensive is road traveling in the country! And they took 8 days to do 175 miles!

Rock Creek—Cheyenne

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2. Frank surpassed himself last night! He bounds about in his sleep like a pea in a shovel! I am sorry for the future Mrs. F.! We were ready for a start after

breakfast, the train being due at Rock Creek at 9 a. m., but we heard that there had been an accident to a goods²⁹ train W. of Rock Creek, and that our train was in consequence delayed three hours. Accordingly about 12 it came in and we started, horns, skins and all. We got to Cheyenne at 8 p. m. and got rooms at the Station Hotel, one each this time, I am thankful to say!! We here parted with Alston, who is going straight home. We met here, Cowan and young Glynn,³⁰ who went with us from Brindisi to Alexandria in the spring!

29 A freight train.

30 Glynn. A London banking family.

NOTE—This, the final note of the Major Wise hunt in the Powder River country, gives a probable route taken by the party in the hunt after leaving the Home Ranch and has been contributed by Mr. Mart Tisdale, sheriff of Johnson County, who is probably as well acquainted with the topography of the entire southern portion of Johnson County as any man today. It has been prepared after a close study of the various marches as recorded in the Diary and, while definite information as to direction and distance traveled is lacking in two important places, it is believed to be, in the main, correct.

The camp of September 4th was, of course, at the N H Ranch on Beaver Creek, the present Condit place at Barnum. On the 5th the party ascended the mountains on the old N H trail to the head of the South prong of Red Fork of Powder River, or Cheever's Flats. Here they hunted till the 8th and that morning 'marched' 10 miles N. W. which would bring them into the Saw Mill Creek country. After about a four-mile march of this 'march' the 'P.C.' newspaper correspondent, left them, much to their relief, and went off to the mountains by way of the Red Bank Trail (Red Bank being the ranch of former Governor Richards on the No Wood about midway between the present towns of Big Trails and Nowood). On the 13th they marched 8 miles N. to the North Fork of Powder River, the present crossing in T. 47-85, being the same as used at that time.

Here they heard of the Crows as being camped not in Big Horn Canyon itself as stated in the Diary but in Creel Canyon, a tributary of the Big Horn. Marching again on the 21st for a distance of 18 miles south should have placed the camp of this night near the South prong of Red Fork of Powder River again. On the 22nd they again marched south, distance not given, but very likely to the Middle Fork of Powder River. Here Hanna and the bear staged their battle and the camp remained till October 5th when they again marched N. W. a distance of 5 miles which should put them on the west slope to the south of Red Bank. Here they remained till the 18th during which time it was proposed that they go to Trout Creek on a fishing trip. At this camp they would have been within 8 or 10 miles of that stream (See note 21.) This plan, however, was not carried out and on the 13th they again marched 8 miles to the Sheep Canyon of the Diary, probably the Canyon of the present day Sheep Creek, which empties into the Middle Fork of Powder River where that stream makes a bend to the east after passing the ranch house of the Bar C. It is between Beaver Creek and the Middle Fork of Powder River. On the 21st a march of 18 miles was made in the direction of the Home Ranch, and this would place the camp of that night on the Middle Fork of Powder River near the mouth of Sheep Creek. On the following day the remaining distance of 22 miles to the Home Ranch was accomplished, thus ending the hunt.

**OLD FADED PHOTOGRAPH
REVEALS FASCINATING PAGE OF EARLY
WYOMING HISTORY***

(Front Cover)

The old street scene in Buffalo, Wyoming, which provides the cover illustration for the ANNALS this quarter, is graphically representative of an early and colorful era in the history of Johnson County. Citizens were not harassed by parking problems, and the city council had no worries over street improvements. The beasts of burden found peace and comfort in this serene atmosphere.

This view of the east side of Main street in 1883 brings to mind two of the town's pioneer business men, S. T. (Uncle Steve) Farwell and Robert Foote. From Howard B. Lott, of Buffalo, comes the following detailed information:

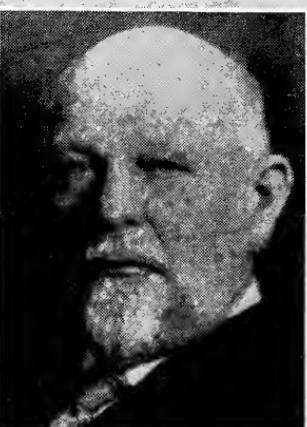
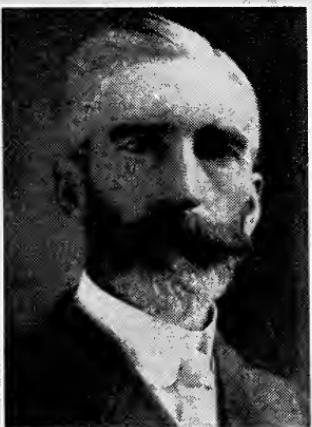
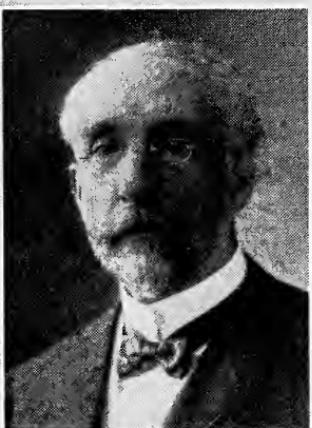
The store of Mr. Farwell, a frame building with shingle roof, was located directly opposite the southeast corner of the present court-house grounds. It was constructed in 1883, and is still standing in practically its original form. Owned by Mr. W. P. Keays, the building is occupied by the WPA commissary.

Mr. Farwell was an old-time bull-whacker, freighting in the Black Hills in 1875 and '76. Forsaking that work to open his store in Buffalo, he later (1884) was elected treasurer of Johnson County and upon completion of his term of office, resumed proprietorship of his business. Afterward he moved to Spokane, Wash., where he died. He was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1836.

The Robert Foote store opened in 1882 on a site directly south of the Farwell place of business, where the dental office of Dr. Elza L. Misner is now located. In the fall of 1883 Mr. Foote moved his business into new quarters on a site about 175 feet north, now occupied by the Texas Service Station of Jack Meldrum.

Mr. Foote, a tailor by trade, was born in Scotland and worked in London for nine years before coming to America. He came to Buffalo from Fort Halleck, which was established in 1863 just west of the Medicine Bow Mountains on the route of the Overland Mail. He enjoyed prosperity in Buffalo and accumulated considerable wealth, but afterward met with financial reverses and removed to Phoenix, Arizona, where he died. He had two sons, one of whom, Robert Foote, Jr., is still living at the age of 72, in Heflin, Alabama.

*The picture was reproduced by Mr. E. E. Dagley, of Cheyenne, from a faded photograph found in the files of the Wyoming State Historical Department.



STATE GOVERNORS

(Left to right, top): DeForest Richards—January 2, 1899-April 28, 1903; Fenimore Chatterton (Acting)—April 28, 1903-January 2, 1905; (Lower): Bryant B. Brooks—January 2, 1905-January 2, 1911; Joseph M. Carey—January 2, 1911-January 4, 1915.

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF WYOMING

By Harry B. Henderson, Sr.*

Article III

DeForest Richards

DeForest Richards, Governor of Wyoming from January 2, 1899, to April 28, 1903, was born August 6, 1846, at Charlestown, New Hampshire. He was of Puritan and Huguenot ancestry, the paternal and maternal families having arrived in America in 1630 and 1640 respectively. His father was a Congregational minister and college president.

Mr. Richards was educated in the common school of Charlestown, Kimball Union Academy of Meredith, N. H. and Phillips Andover Academy.

After the Civil War, the family moved to Alabama where the father had been chosen President of Alabama State University.

Mr. Richards was elected to the Alabama State Legislature, Sheriff and Treasurer of his County under the reconstruction program of the State. He retired from politics and engaged in business in which he was unfortunate financially, but he determined his debts should all be paid. This was accomplished by the labor of his brains and hands. He then opened a merchandising business in Camden, Alabama, and this was a profitable venture.

Mr. Richards and Elise Jane Ingersol, a member of an Alabama Puritan family, were married in 1871. Mrs. Richards was a lovable woman, keen of intellect and during the lifetime of her husband was his helpful partner in business and politics. Two children, Inez and J. DeForest, were born to the family and survive their parents.

In 1885, Mr. Richards closed out his business and moved north and west. The townspeople of Camden tendered him a banquet at which time a beautifully carved statuette was presented, indicative of the high esteem in which Mr. and Mrs. Richards was held by the citizenry and its sincere regret of their leaving the State.

Mr. Richards and his family located at Chadron, Ne-

*A biographical sketch of Mr. Henderson appears in the ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 11, No. 4, October, 1939, with the first of this series of five articles on Wyoming Territorial and State Governors being written especially for this publication.

As Mr. Henderson has watched and participated in the progress of the development of Wyoming, he, himself, has become a part of its fascinating history.

braska, where with his brothers, Bartlett and Jarvis Richards, he engaged in merchandising and banking. Later he moved westward with the extension of the Northwestern Railroad, establishing his home at Douglas in 1887, where he organized the First National Bank and was its executive officer until his death. He also engaged in banking, merchandising, and transportation at Casper.

The heavy cattle losses in Wyoming occasioned by the winters' storms of 1886-1887 prostrated both business and development. It was then that Mr. Richards conceived the idea of bringing sheep into the Platte Valley District, (his grandfather, William Jarvis, imported the first Merino Sheep into the United States) trailing them from Oregon and selling them to the ranchmen. It was a new industry and a new prosperity for Converse County. The income from the ranges now belonged to people actually living in the County.

Mr. Richards had the confidence of the people of Central Wyoming. His counsel and good judgment was sought by the live stock interests. Frequently, it was necessary for him to go the additional mile with his borrower to save him from financial ruin, but if there was honesty and ability on the part of the customer, Mr. Richards would befriend him even at his own peace of mind. He not only saved his borrowers but his institutions and they both prospered.

He was active in the development of Converse County and the town of Douglas. He was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention and served in that body during the framing of Wyoming's greatest law.

He was Mayor of Douglas and Commanding officer of the Wyoming National Guard.

In 1898, Mr. Richards was nominated for Governor on the Republican ticket and elected to that office at the general election. He was inducted into office January 2, 1899, and served a full four year term. He was again elected in November, 1902, reinaugurated in January, 1903, and continued as Governor until April 28, 1903, when he passed into the great beyond.

Governor Richards had a personality that was particularly adapted to the position of Governor. He was physically and intellectually a large man. He was not a politician but rather the safe and conservative business man, who had been chosen to direct the State's affairs.

Governor Richards' message to the Legislature of 1901 and 1903 are really reports upon the condition of the State. They present to the Legislature facts concerning every State Officer, institutional board or commission. The statements

were not merely the re-utterance of those made in biennial reports, but were in a large measure the observations of the Governor from personal visitation to the offices and institutions.

In one message he says "The State and Counties are upon a cash basis and public expense reduced."

"Let us take the lead among our sister states and pay our bonded indebtedness." We did!

"The State is in good condition: by your acts keep it so, or make it better."

"To the prevailing party, I would ask that in all things you act with deliberation and prudence, remembering that you and you alone will be held responsible for extravagances in appropriations."

"Hoping that Divine Providence may guide you in the path of wisdom and that He may continue to shower His blessings upon our people," is the closing paragraph in one message while in his last message, this paragraph:

"The blessings of a beneficent Providence have rested upon our people since your last meeting: prosperity, peace and happiness prevail within our borders, and I trust that His hand may guide you in your councils and deliberations to the end that wisdom shall be shown in all your acts."

Governor Richards became ill shortly after the adjournment of the Legislature in 1903 and died April 28th of that year.

He was a man among men.

Fenimore Chatterton

Fenimore Chatterton, Acting Governor of Wyoming from April 28, 1903, to the first Monday in January, 1905, was born at Oswego, New York, July 31, 1860. His father was G. H. Chatterton, then of Rutland, Vermont, while his mother was Anna Mazuzan of Brandon, Vermont. Mr. Chatterton's father was a lawyer and an ordained Presbyterian minister, doing missionary work in Iowa for several years.

As a lad and youth, Mr. Chatterton received a common school education, a Normal School training, and later he graduated from the law department of the University of Michigan.

Mr. Chatterton came to Iowa with the family, and upon the family returning East, he proceeded West to Wyoming Territory. Fort Fred Steele was a military post at the time and he stopped at the fort. He found employment in the mercantile house of J. W. Hugus, who was post trader, engaged in general merchandising and banking. He made

himself valuable to Mr. Hugus and after a few years, a partnership in the business was effected. A branch store and bank was established at Saratoga, then a thriving town on the Platte River some thirty miles south of the railroad.

After the abandonment of the military post, the business at Fort Steele was sold, Mr. Chatterton giving his attention to the Saratoga branch.

Mr. Chatterton was nominated on the Republican ticket in 1888 to the office of County Treasurer of Carbon County, and elected at the general election of that year. He served the county as he served his former employer and associate, with fidelity. He collected the taxes levied and the tax-payers knew they had to pay. There was no favoritism. At the first State election in 1890, he was elected to the position of State Senator for the four-year term. Having receive his LLB degree in law at Ann Arbor in the class of 1892, he opened a law office at Rawlins. He was elected County Attorney of Carbon County for the years 1894-1898 inclusive. In 1898 he was elected Secretary of State on the Republican ticket and again, in 1902, he was renominated and elected to that high office.

Governor DeForest Richards died April 28, 1903, whereupon by reason of constitutional provisions Mr. Chatterton at once became Acting Governor, which office he ably filled as well as discharging the duties of Secretary of State until the first Monday in January, 1905.

It was during this period that Acting Governor Chatterton was called upon to determine the appeal of Tom Horn for a reprieve or commutation of sentence. He reviewed all the proceedings of the trial in the courts of the state, wrote an exhaustive report of his findings, and denied the petition.

Governor Chatterton's term as Secretary of State expired the first Monday in January, 1907. He again directed his energies to the development of Wyoming resources. Already he had promoted the construction of the Saratoga and Encampment railroad. It was his judgment that a railroad should be constructed from Casper to Lander; that the possibilities of development of the great agricultural area in Central Wyoming should be a reality. It was largely through his efforts that the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad was extended to Lander, and that the agricultural possibilities of the Wind River Valley were made known to the public. He became the attorney for the Wyoming Central Irrigation Company, its General Manager, and built the large irrigation ditch on the West side of Wind River, making possible the irrigation of more than 4000 acres of land that had thereto-

fore grown only sage-brush and greasewood. This was the beginning of a development in a district that eventually will be Wyoming's most productive area.

Governor Chatterton believed three things were essential to Wyoming's growth: Population, Transportation, Production. We have the transportation, we are developing production, but are in need of population to place development on a profitable basis.

Governor Chatterton was again called to public service in March 1927, when he was appointed to the State Board of Equalization, becoming its President and legal counsellor, and serving for a period of six years. He brought to the public service a wealth of experience in business and to the people of the state, reduction in electric light, gas, and telephone rates. He was always primarily interested in his state and the people who were making it productive of mineral and agricultural wealth.

He married Miss Stella Wyland on October 15, 1900. He is a member of the Episcopal Church, the several bodies of the Masonic Organization, and the American Bar Association. Two fine daughters have graced his home. His record of business integrity and honesty covering a period of approximately sixty years, is outstanding and most creditable. In life's evening time he has retired from the strenuous activities which have characterized his life. He is one of the few pioneers who could write an interesting history of Wyoming's pioneer days.

Bryant B. Brooks

Bryant B. Brooks, the seventh Governor of the State of Wyoming, was born in Bernardston, Massachusetts, February 5, 1861. Of the first seven Governors of the State, five were born in the New England states. Mr. Brooks' ancestor, Captain Thomas Brooks, arrived in America in 1631 and settled at Concord. Silas Newton Brooks, father of Bryant B. Brooks, was born at Bernardston and resided there until 1871 when he moved to Chicago where he believed the opportunities were greater for his manufacturing business.

Of his father, Mr. Brooks says in his Memoirs, "Father was a farmer and business man. He was not particularly religious, though his father was a preacher as well as a physician. However, our family was gathered into the parlor each evening to read a chapter from the Bible and have prayers in keeping with the wholesome influence that bred respect for family and tradition." Mr. Brooks, in writing his memoirs some seventy years later, points with pride to his early training in the family home.

Mr. Brooks was graduated from the Chicago High School in 1878. During the vacation periods while at school he lived at the home of Tom Alsop, a Wisconsin farmer from whom he learned how to be frugal and to apply himself toward bringing in an income for his employer. In referring to his boyhood recollections he says, "The best education I received was from my father. He advised, 'If you have something good to say, say it and stop there.'"

At the age of eighteen, Mr. Brooks arrived in Nebraska where he worked on a farm owned by the man who subsequently became his father-in-law. His wage was \$16.00 per month during the summer and in the winter following, \$5.00 per month. He arrived in Wyoming in April, 1880, and hired to N. R. Davis, a cattleman of Cheyenne. In 1881, he started in business for himself and in 1882 purchased a squatters rights on the head of Muddy Creek, then in Carbon County, which location became his home and continues to be the headquarters for his large live stock interests at the present time. In 1883, Mr. Brooks acquired his first bunch of cattle and that was the beginning of a successful live stock business.

Mr. Brooks and Mary Naomi Willard pledged their faith in each other March 11, 1886, at the home of Mrs. Brooks' father, the ranchman Mr. Brooks had worked for in Nebraska when he first came West. They departed for the ranch home, traveling by the Union Pacific Railroad to Rock Creek, Wyoming, thence by stage to Fort Fetterman where they arrived March 19, 1886, and on the eve of the following day arrived at the V-V ranch. This was the actual place of residence for the ensuing twenty odd years. At this ranch the children were born and as they grew up received their primary education in the country school. They, like father and mother, have established their homes in Natrona County and are successful in their line of endeavor.

In 1888, the railroad was built to a point formerly known as Fort Casper on the Platte River. The district was part of Carbon County. It was several days' ride or drive to the County Seat at Rawlins. The Territorial Legislature of 1888 passed an Act creating Natrona County, embracing the northern half of Carbon County. Mr. Brooks was appointed as one of the organizing commissioners. He was elected County Commissioner and served for the years 1891-1892. He served as a member of the Legislature of 1893, and was a Presidential Elector in 1896. In the year 1904, he was nominated for and elected to the Governorship for the unexpired term of Governor Richards deceased. He was again nominated in

1906 and elected to the high office for the ensuing four year period.

During his six years of service as Governor there was large development in the production of oil in the State. By reason of the increased valuation of assessed properties, the State was enabled to provide new and needed institutions and to provide more adequately for the administration of those already created.

In his several messages to the Legislature the Governor presented everything incident to the progress of the State. He had vision to see the things that would effect development and called attention to them. He stressed the appropriation of the waters of the state and their application to irrigation. He says, "Engineers have been investigating the feasibility of storing the water of the Green River and carrying it to a large tract of land in Southern California. There are smaller streams worthy of consideration, the Fontanelle, La Barge, Big Sandy, Powder River, Cheyenne River, the waters of which if impounded would irrigate 200,000 acres of land." All this was said in 1905. Again he said, "Our water power resources have an enormous value and should be developed for the whole State. There is no reason in economics or government why the State should give away property of such inestimable value." What has happened? California has captured the water and power of Green River. Nebraska, Colorado and Idaho are claiming the right to come within our borders and carry away the water run off. Montana and Utah are seeking to improve their irrigation facilities by demanding a share in Wyoming's waters. The counsel of the Governor thirty or more years ago was for the benefit of the State, but unfortunately, was not heeded.

The Governor also said, "The National Government is considering the problem of regulating the grazing of live stock on the open range. Any system which contemplates leasing of the open range and the consequent interference with our present land laws will check our natural growth and progress." We now have the leasing system. The game and game birds of the State are referred to by the Governor as an asset of great value.

Upon retiring from Office, Governor Brooks retired from active participation in politics. He has directed his energies and ability towards developing and building the business interests of the State in which he has been eminently successful. He is President of the Wyoming National Bank of Casper, the Consolidated Royalty Company and other industrial organizations.

Governor and Mrs. Brooks now live in a palatial home in Casper and are, in the afternoon of life, enjoying health and the good will and friendship of the people of the State.

Joseph M. Carey

Joseph M. Carey, Governor of the State of Wyoming from January, 1911, to January, 1915, a native of Delaware, came to Wyoming Territory in 1869, as United States District Attorney for the Territory. He was appointed to the position of Judge in the United States District Court for Wyoming in 1871, resigned in 1876, and in 1884 was nominated and elected on the Republican ticket as Delegate to Congress, continuing in that office until he secured the enactment of the Act of Admission of the Territory into the Sisterhood of States.

Mr. Carey was Wyoming's first elected, United States Senator, serving until 1895. He was during all these years of service a staunch Republican and an earnest advocate of the continuance of the gold standard in finance. He always maintained he would not have to apologize either to himself or the people whom he so ably served because of his monetary views. He was opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and met senatorial defeat because the subject had been a controversial one during the campaign.

Senator Carey was not only keen in politics but he was a businessman as well. He early began to acquire desirable and strategic properties in Cheyenne and to improve them with revenue producing buildings. Reorganized the firm of J. M. Carey & Bro. and under this name took title to town property and ranch lands. He acquired some of the most strategically located lands in the state, builded large cattle growing ranches, developed the lands so that they produced ample to carry his stock during winter months and was known as one of the great stockmen of the State.

In 1885, Mr. Carey organized the Wyoming Development Company. The Cheyenne and Northern Railroad was being constructed from Cheyenne north to the Platte River. The line of railroad was down Chugwater Creek and across the east bench of the flats westerly of that creek. Mr. Carey saw the opportunity to make this great tableland productive and at once developed a plan for the diverting through a tunnel in the mountains, the waters of the Laramie River and bringing them to what is now familiarly known as the Wheatland Flats—today watered through the development company's canal, and one of the richest agricultural districts of the State. A district where the irrigation costs and expense of maintenance have not scuttled the enterprise. The

promotion of this development company and the irrigation canal construction is probably the monument to Joseph M. Carey that will last on through the ages.

During the time Mr. Carey was developing ranches and building structures in Cheyenne, he was active in politics, serving in public office in 1869-70 as U. S. District Attorney; in 1871-76 as U. S. District Judge, resigning the position in 1876. He was Republican National Committeeman for Wyoming from 1876 to 1896; thrice elected Mayor of the City of Cheyenne; a member of the Board of Trustees of School District No. 1 in Laramie County; Delegate in Congress 1885-1890; United States Senator, 1890-1895; Vice-President of the Federal Land Bank of Omaha for several years. His desire to render public service was yet unsatisfied; there was one office in which he had not served. He desired to be Governor of his State and was mentioned for nomination by his party in 1910 but was not nominated by the Republican Convention. Immediately following, the Democratic Party in convention, believing that Senator Carey's uttered policies were in harmony with those of the party, nominated him for Governor on the Democratic ticket. He accepted the nomination and was elected, taking on the duties of Governor on the first Monday of January, 1911.

Governor Carey brought to the State government his legal and business ability, coupled with his broad experience in public life. Elected on well defined views, he expresses himself in his first message to the Legislature as follows:

"I strive not to build a party machine. I have no other object than advancing the growth of the state and the honor of her people. That which interests me most is an industrial constructive policy relating to the development of the material resources of the State—new home building, honest money making enterprises." He recommended the enactment of the Direct Primary Law; he urged the popular election of United States Senators and favored initiative and referendum consideration. The values of property as fixed by the Board of Equalization were condemned because of the resulting disparity of taxes. Agricultural development was pointed out as the basis of creating a prosperous state.

The Governor, in his message of 1913, congratulates the state upon being the first of all American Legislatures extending to women, suffrage, and full political rights. "Seven great states have now clothed women with the same rights as those granted by Wyoming." He directed the attention of the Legislature to the allotment of the expense of construction of the Wyoming-Nebraska Interstate Canal and

says, "The cost of this project has been prorated between the states at the rate of 30% for Wyoming and 70% for Nebraska. In other words for 3% of the lands reclaimed, Wyoming is charged with 30% of the cost." In many instances the Reclamation Service has taken the attitude of disregarding the laws of the State and the rights of individuals and communities."

In closing his 1913 message the Governor said "The Legislature as well as myself has been trusted by the people. They expect much of us. Let us do that which will be for the common good."

Governor Carey died February 5th, 1924. His wife and sons have since followed him to the Great Beyond.

"WONDERFUL WYOMING"

Wyoming and her vast undeveloped resources as visualized nearly fifty years ago by Col. Stephen W. Downey, President of the State Board of Mines,¹ is an optimistic and colorful story correlated into his report which appeared in the December 5, 1891, issue of the "Wyoming Commonwealth,"² official organ of the State Board of Mines which was published weekly at Cheyenne, Wyoming, under the heading WONDERFUL WYOMING, which is the slogan popularly used today, forty-nine years later.

The report as it appeared in the newspaper follows in part:

"A Grand Showing for the Grand Young State, Covering Every Class of Minerals"

"Having for the past few months served as president of the State Board of Mines, and desiring now to give way to some one of the energetic and enterprising trustees who have been active in the effort to aid and encourage the prospector and miner in a systematic way, I desire to congratulate you upon the results that have followed the labors of the first convention. For a long time all work in the way of prospect-

¹ Officers of the State Board of Mines, besides Col. Downey, of Laramie, were Joe DeBarthe, of Buffalo, treasurer; and C. G. Coutant, of Cheyenne, secretary. The trustees included the officers and the following: E. J. Wells, Converse county; J. F. Crawford, Carbon county; Jas. A. McAvoy, Fremont county; J. E. Keenan, Sweetwater county; F. W. Mondell, Weston county; John S. Harper, Crook county; W. S. Kimball, Natrona county; William Brown, Sheridan county; John Russell, Uinta county; W. S. Collins, Big Horn county, all thirteen counties then existing being represented.

² C. G. Coutant (author of "History of Wyoming," 1899) was editor of "Wyoming Commonwealth," and I. S. Bartlett (author of "History of Wyoming," 1918) was associate editor.

ing and development had been carried on without system or harmony. It is an undisputed fact that organized labor, in whatever department it may be, accomplishes more than individual effort. This has been signally demonstrated during the year closed. I think you will bear me witness that more has been done since our last meeting than during all the years that preceded it, in the way of diligent prospecting, great discoveries and active development of mining properties. In addition to the several new camps that have been opened and that have created an excitement that has extended from one end of the country to the other, there has been an awakened interest in all the old camps, where a faithful few have toiled for years, inspired by the belief that in time their labors would be crowned with success. Had nothing been accomplished more than the discovery of gold on Brush creek, and silver at the head of French creek, and in the La Plata district, we would have had cause to rejoice, but under the impetus of your encouragement and the strong support of the press, we have heard from all sides of the energetic exploration for ledges and placers, and invariably such exploration has been crowned with success. We may reasonably hope that the work of this convention will be still more valuable in inciting the miners and prospectors in every section of the state to renewed diligence. There is every reason to hope that Wyoming will prove the banner mineral state of the union, and this board should see to it that no stone is left unturned to make it what we all believe nature has designed it to be.

Let There Be Light

There are to be found everywhere, a few disquiet souls who prate of hard times and become discouraged because the harvest does not immediately follow seed time. They are the "Faint Hearts" of any age in which faint hearts have no place. For the benefit of such I would quote Julien Gordon's exquisite sentiment:

"The Lord said 'Let there be light!' and there was light. The fiat for darkness has not yet gone forth, nor for a general amnesty of those forces which create the joy-giving beam.

"Life and light are eternal, and genius, immortal child, still beckons all youth, smiling with its divine invitation."

Everything Found in Wyoming

A distinguished German scientist who visited this country several years ago, on his return home said that whenever he wanted anything after that, and could find it nowhere else, he was sure of discovering it in Wyoming. This is particularly

true if the object sought belonged to the mineral kingdom, for in no other known region on earth do so many surprises meet the prospector and miner on every hand. As the years pass by and the pioneers begin to think they have learned the country thoroughly, they are startled by the knowledge that they don't understand it at all and must begin it all over again.

It was not until Wyoming was admitted to statehood, but little more than a year ago, that general attention was attracted to it. Since that time it has been advertised from one end of the continent to the other. The eyes of the people were all at once opened and they began to realize that there was, in the heart of the nation, a commonwealth vaster in area than some of the empires of the east, and practically as unexplored and unknown as central Africa. With an area of 97,000 square miles, how little we know today of the actual resources of even a small fraction of our own state. It was repeated for years that every foot of the range of mountains in southern Wyoming had been thoroughly gone over by prospectors and that there was nothing in it. Yet within twelve months a great gold camp has been discovered on one slope of that range, while on the other are being opened silver mines as rich as those of Peru or Mexico. And we are as yet scarcely in the dawn of that era of development that we believe is to make Wyoming the wealthiest commonwealth in the Union.

Agricultural Possibilities

The agricultural possibilities of the state are unquestionably great. It is only necessary to get water on the soil anywhere to produce abundant crops. This has been demonstrated in every county from Uinta to Crook and from Laramie to Fremont. Johnson county has won the championship in a national potato contest, while Sheridan, Converse and Carbon are neck and neck with her in the race. The valleys of the Platte, the Green, the Laramie, the Sweetwater, the Little Popo Agie, the Bear and almost every stream between the continental divide and the Wind river chain of mountains, are as fertile as the world-famed valley of the Nile. The ranchman who cultivates the soil by irrigation runs no such risk as the farmer of the lower states, of loss of crops by flood, or drouth, or destructive insects, but while the agricultural possibilities of Wyoming are very great, and while realizing that there must be bread producers before there are bread winners, still we believe the prime consideration is the development of our mineral resources.

Up to the present time these have been, with the exception of our coal mines, practically untouched. The vast

quantity of fuel demanded by the railroad companies and the annually increasing supply required by the people who settled up the treeless plains east of the Rocky mountains, led to the development of the coal measures of Sweetwater, Uinta and Carbon counties years ago, and finally splendid mines were opened up at Newcastle, while we now hear that a new line of road is to be pushed through within the next four months from Dakota to reach the coal mines about Sundance, and from Newcastle to Johnson and Sheridan counties.

Iron Must Come Next

As an article indispensable to the commercial world and in this respect our state is again prepared to meet every demand that can be made upon it for a century to come. Wyoming has literally mountains of iron and while a beginning has been made in working them at one point on the Cheyenne and Northern, the industry is as much in its infancy as any other in this region. The same cause that led to the development of our coal mines—the railroad—will eventually lead to thousands of men being employed in taking out iron. It is not possible that the construction of railway lines has been overdone except in certain eastern territory, where companies were fighting for every inch of ground, paralleling each other and going to war over the simple matter of a crossing. We have only a single line crossing our state, where there must be in a short time at least three. There will be the same increase of transportation facilities demanded in neighboring states and this will lead to the opening of iron mines and the erection of mills somewhere in the mountains that will do away with the heavy cost of hauling material half way across the continent.

* * * * *

Chrome Iron

A great deal has been published in the newspapers of this state about our immense deposits of iron, but strangely enough they have never had a word to say of the very extensive ledges of chrome iron on Dutton creek, the development of which would be of vast benefit to not only the state, but the entire nation. This, one of the most valuable resources of the state, should be brought to the attention of eastern capitalists who could not fail to appreciate the inducement offered for its development. * * * It is found on the Laramie plains, east of Cooper Lake station, in ledges near 100 feet wide and some two miles in length. It is crystalline in character, very fine grained and takes a high and beautiful polish. It is also found to some extent in other localities. When this marble can be utilized Wyoming can furnish its own marble

mountains, furniture and mantle slabs. Specimens of our marble, which resembles the Italian variety, have been sent to artisans east, who have tested its texture, durability and utility for the higher economic uses and pronounce it "superior."

* * * * *

Brief descriptions of various other minerals were given, including mica, of which it was said, "There are so many uses made of this mineral and it is so rarely found in great quantities and a perfect state, that these mines should build up an important industry in themselves;" also graphite, found on the Sybille, as well as lime and cement, clay and kaolin, gypsum, soda, glass, sulphate of magnesia, oil, asbestos, and sulphur. All were cited as being highly valuable resources awaiting development.

Cheap power provided by the streams of the State, as an inducement to mills and factories, was cited as a valuable asset, and optimistic reference was made concerning the sugar beet, upon which experiments had just been made, "with magnificent success," followed by a discussion of the precious metals, which concluded:

"There is nothing so ravishing to the human ear as a story of the hidden treasures of the earth; nothing that will enchain his interest like the fiction of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp, or of Monte Cristo and his cave. In our State we have abundance of material for arousing this enthusiasm without resorting to fiction. It is true that, for want of capital, no great producer has been discovered and developed, but we all know that this will come in time. It is no vain boast to say that the soil of the plains shows gold from the grass roots down and that the commonest looking rock in the hills is likely to assay away up in the thousands."

Gold Hill

One of the most remarkable discoveries ever made by a prospector was that which introduced the famous Brush creek camp to the world. From that day to this there has scarcely been a piece of rock or a pan of gravel from that side of the Snowy range tested that has not shown free gold, and new finds are being reported every day, though the camp is now over a year old. It is impossible to say what the extent of that district will be, but its prospects have been such that has infused fresh activity into and revived interest in every camp, large and small in Wyoming. It has led to discoveries in Lake creek, on Rock creek, on Grand Encampment, on Battle Lake, at the head of French Creek and last but not least in the La Plata district, on the south side of the Snowy range.

While some of the mines—for instance on the Grand Encampment and Rock creek have shown up better than those in Gold Hill or La Plata, these two camps command the greatest public interest, a fact undoubtedly due to extent of the field of ore in each, which bears one of the precious metals. If the rock from the Brush creek camp has glittered with free gold, that from La Plata has been fairly resplendent with galena, carrying a large amount of silver * * *.

Douglas Creek

Take again the district embracing Keystone and Douglas creek. The Otras Mining Company is now running its twenty-stamp mill on a very high grade ore from the Florence mine, which they have been working for several months. There is a steady output of bullion from this mine and some immensely rich strikes have been made there during the past year. The Florence has made a record in the line of big strikes and never had better ore to work than now.

In the same camp Welloff & Barnes, two experienced miners from Utah, are meeting with great success. The gentlemen have leased two mines that are claimed to be among the richest in the district, and have built an arastras with which they are now testing the ores. Not satisfied with this they have gone ahead and prospected the entire surrounding country, the result being that they announce their intention of remaining there and say they can be perfectly satisfied for years to come. These are men comparatively without capital, from which it may be believed that they have a good thing or they could not afford to stay there.

Northern Wyoming Mines

The delegates to this convention will speak in detail of the outlook in the north, but I feel safe in saying that it is not less grand than in the south. From the Bald Mountain district come reports that, in the absence of all news from Southern Wyoming, would alone promise great things for the state. Judging from newspaper reports, and as a general thing they are to be relied on, the placers in the Bald Mountain district are among the richest to be found in this country, while farther up in the range there must soon be found the ledges from which this gold was washed during the glacial period. It is gratifying to note the confidence felt in all these fields, and I believe it is not misplaced.

The Sweetwater Country

We have only to look a little further to discover another famous and prosperous camp. South Pass, Miners Delight

and Atlantic have long made the Sweetwater country the synonym for rich ledges and placer fields. There have been several important discoveries there of late and capital is going in to develop the mines which are among the best known and most prosperous in the state. Several mills and arastras are running, and considerable gold is being taken out. From a personal investigation I am satisfied this active development will continue and that the output will in a few years run up into the millions.

The Great Prize

What a potent influence has gold upon the human race! We read that it was the chief thing sought to be acquired by pre-Adamite sultans. King Solomon has retained his place as one of the leading characters in Biblical history more because of his wealth than his wisdom. The wise men who followed the star of the east until it stood over the humble stable in Bethlehem, carried with them gold to lay at the feet of the infant Savior, who was afterward betrayed to his enemies for twenty pieces of silver, the next in value of the precious metals.

Men have in all ages braved the perils of the deep, and nations have gone to war for gold. The voyage in search of the Golden Fleece was but the first recorded instance of a mad race after the yellow metal that was repeated in the case of Columbus, Pizarro, Cortez, Ponce De Leon and Coronado. The search of the latter for the Seven Cities of Quivira, is the most romantic of all authentic histories of quest for treasure. Lured by the tales of an Aztec, he led his little band across the staked plains (Lland Estacado) up through Texas, the Indian Territory and Kansas in search of the mystic cities whose streets were said to be paved with gold and the most ordinary utensils created from the same material. Their fate is known to all students of history.

In our day the mothers first fond pride is to place a golden circlet on the finger of her babe. The ring, at once the emblem of purity and eternity, is placed on the finger of the bride with the blessing of the priest. Gold is coveted by the miser, who denies himself the necessities of life and perishes from hunger or cold, that not a single shining piece may escape his grasp, and breathes his last feasting his eyes on the glittering coin. The wage-earner toils the whole month long that he may at the end receive a piece of gold, though it be of the smallest denomination. The banker hoards it up in his vaults and even the most powerful nations of earth measure their strength and stability by the contents of their treasures. A golden crown is the emblem of the earthly potentate and

we are promised if we are eventually admitted to paradise, that we shall receive a crown and harp of gold. Strange infatuation of man. Strange, yet true, since time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. What an impetus it should be to us to know that our mountains are filled with this great prize for which every condition of man has been searching since the world was created, for which they shed their own blood as readily as the blood of others; for which they have suffered alike the terrors of the Arctic and the tropical regions. Never should we halt or hesitate in the work of developing this treasure, for its abuses are inferior to its uses. It can be made to relieve the destitute, to comfort the sick, to feed and clothe and educate our families, to fill our land with prosperity and our cities with temples. It is all powerful today as it ever has been.

Smelting Works Needed

There is one thing Wyoming needs now more than ever before, and more than almost anything else, and the individual or company that fills that want will be hailed as a public benefactor. There is needed first-class smelting and reduction works at some central point. It would be well if there were four or five such institutions right now, but we should be satisfied to begin modestly as things have always been done in this commonwealth, both as a territory and as a state. If it has seemed otherwise to anyone it has been because he was not posted as to our wealth of resources, to speak most conservatively of which would seem to the citizens of a region less highly favored the height of exaggeration.

The predictions made for years that the mines would pan out big some day have been fulfilled. The specimens coming in are so rich that they dazzle the eyes of the veteran prospector and miner. But unfortunately our richest finds are located at a great distance from the railroad, and after hauling ore to the nearest station, and this is not very near in any case, there is yet a long distance to be traversed, at rates that would eat up the profits on the best rock in the world. If there were smelting works anywhere within reasonable distance they would now be taking out the money that would enable those who have toiled and are toiling so patiently to go on with their development work and right soon our camps would be heard from on all sides. Who will be the one to take the lead in this enterprise? There is no longer any risk in it. The time has come when the investment would be a profitable one from the start and the company would soon reap a harvest as the reward of its enterprise. Look at it! We have all the coal, oil, fluxes—such as iron, soda, and galena—on the ground.

The Region's Resources

It would be impossible without trespassing on your time to enter into details regarding the resources of this region, and the results we may naturally expect to follow their development. Instead of there being reason for discouragement at the retarded growth of the country and the slow progress of the past twenty years, there is cause for congratulation in the magnificence of the outlook. There is consolation in the thought that we now have at our command, for the development of the marvelous riches nature has bestowed upon this country, improved machinery and processes that will enable us to accomplish in ten years what could not with the old methods have been accomplished in a century.

When the Count of Monte Cristo, after being hurled into the sea, cut his shroud, rose to the surface and planted his feet on the solid rock, exclaiming in exultation, "The world is mine," he spoke from a selfish standpoint of the individual. We rejoice that the storehouse of treasures of inestimable value has been revealed to us and that the key has been placed in our hands, because not only ourselves, but our children and the generations that are to follow, are given an inheritance that will enable us to unveil the glories of the land of our choice and make its splendors the admiration and blessing of the world.

Those of us whom a gracious Providence shall permit to remain in this goodly land for another decade, will witness a transformation such as has been chronicled in neither history nor fiction. I can see it even now.

The waters of our bright mountain rivers, once permitted wantonly to waste their volume to swell the sea, have been confined in vast reservoirs constructed in the loftiest portions of the Rocky mountain range, where are born the streams that give life to the land both to the east and west. These waters are freed from bondage only as they are needed to irrigate the plains and valleys, or to aid the miners in wresting from the hills the treasures they have for centuries cunningly concealed.

In the valleys are far stretching fields of oats and barley, flax and wheat. The heavy heads of the ripening grain, swept by the soft breeze from snow-capped peaks, bend and toss until they look like the waves of a sunlit sea.

In every valley are flour and woolen mills, for where a brief space ago all was silence, the echoes were awakened by the shriek of the locomotive; the "great civilizer" left in its wake the village schools, and churches sprang up like magic and the village became a city whose population was fed from the products of our own soil. It became an unwritten law that whatever the people consumed should be raised or manufactured at home, and there was prosperity everywhere.

The music of the mountain streams is mellowed by the hum of industry that fills the whole land. In the cities, the chambers of commerce and boards of trade occupy buildings constructed of native stone of every shade that is beautiful, and of brick and terra cotta, made from our own clay and Kaolin, whose flush is like that of the sky when the great luminary rises amid the glories of a Wyoming morning.

In the cities are temples to learning and to art, that are free alike to all the children, for there are no poor children in Wyoming. These temples are built of the granite and marble from our own quarries and decorated with onyx from our own mines, and the beauty of the latter stone is more exquisite than that now brought from the land of the Montazumas to adorn the capitols erected in our proudest states, and the palaces of our millionaire princes.

When the sun retired behind those mountains so tall that the snows on their summits are never tainted by the earth's dust, and the stars branch across the heavens in brilliant array, the sky is lighted by the glow of the fires in a thousand furnaces, in smelters and foundries, glass factories and rolling mills. In the morning the only cloud that dims the glory of the sun, is the smoke arising from these marts of industry in which a contented and happy people are engaged in the tireless task of adding to the wealth of the world.

From the mountains there pours down a steady stream of gold, as pure and inexhaustible as the sunshine of this favored region, and the barren flanks of the hills have become a wilderness of gardens and vineyards. High up among the emerald-breasted hills, lie many cities cradled in their green, surrounded by such loveliness as thrills the poetry in us. From these cities is sent forth the wealth of the world, for they are built in the midst of mines of gold and silver, richer than those of Golconda and absolutely inexhaustible.

Over the wealthiest commonwealth in the nation, whose influence is potent not only in the commercial centers but in the councils of state, there rests everywhere such a halo of peace and prosperity as makes the people imagine they are experiencing the dawn of the millennium.

Thrice happy the lot of those who live to see the complete development of the wondrous resources the infinitely great and good Ruler of the universe has given to Wyoming. What a picture this region will present when its manifest destiny has been marked out! Who knows but that from these hills and plains there will go forth the sceptre that will rule the world, not by force of arms but by the power of the Prince of Peace, who has planted here a shining gateway between the east and west? When He comes to re-establish His kingdom on earth may it not be said that He has designed through all the ages,

and so richly endowed this region that the New Jerusalem shall rest in one of the peaceful valleys amid these mountains, where it will be surrounded by glories such as mortal eyes cannot rest upon elsewhere? At all events we have no fears that those who come after us will imagine that we were ignorant or unmindful of the grand possibilities of this region, or failed to read aright the handwriting on the wall.

Government Aid

The general government has made a start in the direction of assisting us in the great work that is mapped out for us to do. Within the Rocky Mountain range, under the evening shadow of the hills in which the richest discoveries are now being made, sits the university established by the state. The government has made this institution for the present its representative in agricultural experiments it is conducting in our valleys and on our plains. There has been established in this connection the chair of mineralogy, mining engineering and metallurgy and we hope that within a few years, through the instruction imparted in this department, the institution will be sending forth educated miners, scientific men and skilled artificers who will be a strong reinforcement to the prospectors and miners in their exploration and development work. It is our expectation that we shall soon secure as the head of this department, a thoroughly competent professor, who will be able to make an assay and reports for the prospectors and capitalists engaged in mining work throughout the state.

But We Need More

There is one suggestion I have to make to this convention and through the potent influence of the press I hope it may reach the world and one day be realized. I am not departing from the legitimate line of discussion save for illustration, when I call your attention to what is known as the Hatch law. This is an act of Congress designed to establish agricultural experiment stations in connection with the colleges established in the several states, etc. In section 2 of the act referred to, we find "that it shall be the object and duty of said experiment station to conduct original researches or verify experiments on the physiology of plants and animals; * * * composition of useful plants at their several stages of growth; * * * the analysis of soils and water * * * and such other researches or experiments bearing directly on the agricultural industry of the United States as may in each case be deemed advisable, having due regard to the varying conditions and needs of the respective states and territories."

Under this act, in our own state, an experiment station has been established, with six sub stations, viz.: In Carbon, Lar-

amie, Crook, Fremont, Sheridan and Johnson counties, each of which is supported at an annual cost to the government of say \$6,000. All honor to the generous spirit of the author of this bill and to that great class of food producers whom it benefits. Why should not a similar concession be extended to the tireless toilers who have delved in the earth, scanned every foot, almost, of the hills and mountains, withstood exposure and privations and at the cost of their health, the enjoyment of the comforts of home and, to many of their lives, given to the world the gold and silver with which its commerce is carried on; the coal and copper and iron, which enable us to transport the products of the soil to the remotest points; the oil that furnishes the light for the world, by which the student acquires his knowledge and the people indulge in their literary and social tastes, I would like to see a system inaugurated in line with university extension, or like the experiment stations provided for in connection with agricultural colleges, by which an assay office would be established in every county in this and other mineral states. Such office should be in charge of a competent man and be sustained at the government's expense, in order to enable the miner to have his ore promptly and accurately tested and aid him in the work of exploration and development, which under all the difficulties enumerated had alone made possible the existence of Wyoming, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, Idaho, as states, and Utah, New Mexico and Arizona as territories. Nay, even more; but for the quest for gold would California be a part of the Union; but for Ponce De Leon, Pizarro, Cortez and Coronado, and the whole host of gold seekers, would civilization today extend west of the Alleghenys and Blue mountains, or more than a few hundred miles back from the gulf coast?

It seems to me that while the establishment of the department of agriculture is no more than a just recognition of the claims of the farming population, the great mining class, which include such eminent prospectors as landed on our shores in the fifteenth century and three hundred years later settled and conquered the Golden State, who have been pioneers always from the days when search was made for the Golden Fleece down to the present time when men, full of hope and confidence and nerve have opened within a year two great camps in the mountains, are entitled to that assistance due from a democratic government to every class of citizen. The world owes more to the treasure hunters than to all other classes combined. They have ever been the pioneers. They have opened up two continents and been the leaders in every conquest that has been made since barbarism gave way before the advance of civilization.

I say in all earnestness that congress should establish these assay stations, not alone as due to the intrepid class of miners and prospectors but as a means of enriching the country and placing it forever in the lead financially, of the nations of the world. I have offered the suggestion in a general way, but I hope it will engage the earnest attention of some of our law-makers and that in the very next congress a bill will be introduced that will give to the honest prospector, as the Hatch bill has given to the honest farmer, an adviser who will be authorized to "make such researches or experiments bearing directly on the mining industry of the United States as may in each case be deemed advisable, having due regard to the varying condition and needs of the respective states and territories."

Our Plain Duty

What shall we do to aid our world's fair commissioners is a pertinent question at the present time. With so many and such glorious resources within the borders of this state, there must be no failure to have Wyoming properly represented at the great exposition in 1893. The commissioners are going to work with zeal and courage and they should have the undivided support not only of the people but of this convention. Wyoming will be able to show up grandly if we all do our part, and the way to begin is by standing by our commissioners from the beginning, giving them all the encouragement and support possible; never letting them feel that they are working alone, that their services are unappreciated, or that we are unwilling to share the responsibility with them. As the whole state will reap the benefit, it is the plain duty of this convention to set the state the example and rouse the enthusiasm of all in Wyoming's preparation for the fair.

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The Pioneers

It would be inexcusable should I fail to mention before concluding, those who are primarily responsible for the reclamation of the Great American desert. All honor to those who crossed the great rivers to brave the perils of an unknown country. What a debt of gratitude is due Captain Bonneville, General John C. Fremont, the pathfinder, and their noble following, rank and file! They formed the advance guard of the regular army, who, followed by other gallant bands, and in time whole regiments, wrestled the great trans-Missouri empire from hostile savages, paved the way for the army of pioneers that came closely in their footsteps, and laid the foundation upon which has been built the grand common-

wealths that stretch in an unbroken line from the Mississippi to the Golden Gate. How little did those early comers realize the full meaning of that stanza :

"I hear the tread of pioneers,
Of nations yet to be;
The first low wave where soon
Shall roll a human sea."

The waves indeed rolled in and broke everywhere on the plains and mountains, but not until hundreds of these pioneers of the army and of civil life had laid down their lives for the sake of civilization. On every hill and in every valley today the bones of those intrepid men are bleaching. Within a stone's throw, or perhaps over their very graves, the iron horse thunders now with the products of every section of the then unknown lands in his train. The fruits and wines and silks from California, the wheat and salmon from Washington and Oregon; the seal and salmon from Alaska; the silver and gold, the horses and cattle from Montana, Nevada, Idaho, Utah and Wyoming are rushed across the mountain ranges, on two slender threads of steel in an unending procession. And cities have sprung up where before all was silence, and the tidal wave of civilization has swept away the last trace of savagery. How little did those sleepers in unknown graves dream of the future that they were carving out for this country! Had it passed before them like a dream they would have thought their imagination ran riot. While we think of them and honor them it is well to remember that we can see as little of the changes a decade or a quarter of a century will bring to this country as did they. But as they would have wondered at what has been wrought in the brief time since they laid down to sleep forever amid the everlasting hills, though the conquest has been accomplished; so we need not regard as impossible the wildest dream of the wildest enthusiasts. We have become used to the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone and the electric lights, and even regard with curiosity unmixed with awe the experiments of a man who usurps the prerogatives of Providence and causes the rain to fall and the elements to move at his command. We do not know what miracle will be worked next but we do know what there is in the earth that less than miracles will develop into such a glory as the angel in the sun will pause in his daily rounds to make note of, and knowing this we have a right to anticipate a future for Wyoming such as will never fall to the lot of its sister states, whether they be older or yet unborn.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING WRITTEN BY C. G. COUTANT,
PIONEER HISTORIAN, AND HERETOFORE
UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter IV

Laramie County

Captivity of Mrs. Eubanks—Hanging of Two Face and Black Foot—Fight at Deer Creek—Bullock and Bettelyoun—John Phillips' Ride—Attack on Horse Shoe—Massacre of Settlers—John Reshaw—Stuttering Brown, etc.

It will now be necessary to go back a few months in the history of events in order to give place for the record of some things which occurred in connection with the great Sioux outbreak of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter. In the winter of 1863-64, a Mrs. Eubanks was taken prisoner by the Sioux down on the Republican Fork in Nebraska and brought by them as a captive to the region of country above Fort Laramie. She was held in bondage among the hostile Indians at a point not far from where the town of Sundance in what is now Crook county, is located. The sufferings of this poor unfortunate woman were too great and terrible to be narrated by tongue or pen. For months she was held in this vile bondage subject to their will and caprices and her fate was one far worse than death itself. At length the cupidity and avarice of the savages got the mastery of them and they resolved to give up the woman provided they could obtain for her a suitable ransom. With this object in view Two Face and Black Foot, a pair of unfortunate chiefs who claimed the custody of the woman sent word in to Ft. Laramie that they had the woman and would give her up if they were paid a suitable sum. Word was sent to them to come to the Fort with their captive. The usually wary savages, partially dazed by the prospect (as they supposed) of securing the ransom, boldly ventured into Fort Laramie with their captive, when without any ceremony whatever the two Indians were hung to the nearest tree by order of Colonel Moonlight who then commanded the post. Judge W. F. Lee of Cheyenne was present at the hanging, and although he protested that it was acting in bad faith yet his protests proved wholly ineffectual. Mrs. Eubanks was eventually sent back to her friends in Nebraska. A Mrs. Larimer also fell into the hands of the Indians at about this time, but was released through the intervention of some of the old French trappers who had been among the Indians a great deal and had gained their confidence.

On the 26th of July, 1864, a decidedly lively skirmish with

the Indians occurred at Deer Creek some miles west of Fort Laramie which was one of the first encounters that took place between the Sioux and the whites after the outbreak occurred. A Lieutenant Marshall with a small squad of soldiers and three or four citizens of whom Levi Ashenfelter, now of Cheyenne, was one, went some distance westward from Fort Laramie the object being to afford protection to another small party which was to go out to repair the military telegraph line which at that time extended from Ft. Laramie to Ft. Phil Kearny some 150 miles to the northwest. The party under Lieut. Marshall, nine men in all, were in camp temporarily when a large band of Indians, all mounted, rode suddenly upon them giving vent to an unearthly warwhoop as they advanced. The commander of the little party who was somewhat "under the weather" on account of having partaken of too much "fire water" shouted to his men when he saw them coming "get your guns, boys, get your guns." The "boys" were not slow in complying with the order and by the time the Indians were upon them they were ready for battle. At this the Indians who were slightly disconcerted turned and rode rapidly down the hill upon which the camp had been pitched. As they rode hurriedly down the decline the Lieutenant shouted to his men "shoot them, shoot the D_____." At this the party opened fire and Bear Skin the leader of the Indians was badly wounded. The whites, who had by this time mounted their horses, followed in pursuit and drove the savages into a clump of hills not far away where their squaws and papooses were concealed, and after having provided more effectually for the protection of the latter the Indians, some forty in numbers, rallied and returned to the fight. For more than two hours the gallant little band of whites fought four times their number of the savage foe, and not only held them at bay but eventually rode safely away, the Indians at the same time again scampering into the hills. How many of the Indians were killed and wounded was never known but there must have been several of them. None of the whites were killed but nearly all of them received slight wounds. Within the ensuing year several pitched battles were fought with the Indians in which Mr. Ashenfelter participated, occurred farther westward in the vicinity of Old Fort Casper, but of these mention will be made in another portion of this work.

During the summer of 1866 affairs became so bad in the vicinity of Ft. Laramie that it was no longer safe for people to remain for a moment beyond the protection of the military post. Everybody in that region flocked into Fort Laramie for protection, and even there it was not considered entirely safe. Many were the depredations committed by the Sioux—many more than can be mentioned here, but such as would fill a volume, were they to be recorded. In the fall and winter of 1866

the situation around and above Fort Laramie was as dark and perilous as it well could be, and on December 21st of that year at old Fort Phil Kearny 150 miles northwest of Ft. Laramie occurred one of the bloodiest massacres that has ever darkened the annals of American history. This was the occasion when Colonel Fetterman, with eighty-three men, were lured beyond the reach of assistance from their comrades in the Fort and butchered to the last man by the hostiles. It is not the intention to give at this time an account of the massacre, as that properly belongs to another portion of this narrative, but following it came the daring and heroic ride of John Phillips (known everywhere as "Portugee" Phillips) from the scene of the bloody episode to Ft. Laramie to spread the alarm, for what was left of the garrison at Phil Kearny were also in danger of being overpowered and butchered. It was necessary that word should be sent to Fort Laramie in order that assistance might be had, and for that dangerous duty the gallant Phillips volunteered his services. He made the ride in less than 36 hours through a country swarming with savages and gave the alarm, and how he escaped death on that perilous ride is more than even he in after years could explain or understand. The noble steed that

"Brought you Sheridan into the fray
From Winchester twenty miles away"

bore not upon its back a more dauntless hero than did the one that safely carried "Portugee" Phillips through on that ride of the gauntlet of death from Phil Kearny to Ft. Laramie in those perilous days. Years afterwards when Phillips died in Cheyenne the "Pioneers of Wyoming" met and adopted resolutions of respect to his memory and attended his funeral in a body.

On May 14, 1867, Col. W. G. Bullock, one of the bravest and most sagacious of the many daring spirits who in those days faltered not in the midst of danger, with a party of twenty men among whom was Isaac Bettelgoon, equally as daring and fearless, went some thirty miles southeast of Fort Laramie to Fox Creek for the purpose of looking up stock which had strayed away. While dismounted and while their horses had accidentally been stampeded for a short distance were still away, they were suddenly assailed by a large body of mounted Indians who rushed in between the party and their horses. Under the leadership of Bullock and Bettelyoun who set the example the whole party sprang to their arms and prepared for the worst. The Indians were astounded and eventually driven off but with the loss to the little party of their horses. Subsequently Colonel Bullock led out many a small party and although he and his men had many a brush with the Indians,

and narrow escapes, the savage foe at length learned to fear the "White Hair Chief" more than any other man in the region.

In August of the same year (1867) Isaac Bettelyoun with a party of ten men was surrounded by a large party of Indians on the Chugwater while out in charge of a large band of cattle. The first warning the party had of the proximity of the Indians was when they began to show their heads above the bluffs near the stream. Bettelyoun was not dismayed, however, but throwing down his gun boldly walked toward them and made signs as though his party desired to have a "medicine talk" with them. Quite a parley ensued, the result being that American Horse, who was at the head of the Indians, and nine of his warriors, threw down their arms and came into the camp of the whites where a sort of a temporary treaty was effected which relieved the whites of their danger for the time being. While the treaty was being made a portion of the party of Indians who did not come in or assent to the treaty drove off a number of head of stock and the animals were, of course, never recovered. Not long after the affair just mentioned, Bettelyoun and three others had a severe encounter with a small party of Indians over near the Laramie river, in which after exchanging shots for a long time and engaging in a sort of a running fight, one at least of the Indians was fatally shot and the balance of them drew off. None of the whites were seriously injured.

The winter of '67 and '68 was the darkest and most gloomy time of the whole period so far as the region to the west and northwest of Ft. Laramie was concerned. Strange though it may seem, during the few years immediately preceding the summer of 1867, quite a numerous settlement had been made to the west and northwest of Fort Laramie, mainly at and around Horse Shoe, while between Ft. Laramie and Ft. Fetterman (recently established) a line of ranches at convenient distances had sprung up the length of the entire route and a military telegraph line had been put up between the two posts. On the settlement at Horse Shoe the Indians made a descent in mid-winter and not only burned to the ground every building in the small settlement, but massacred quite a number of the settlers. Fortunately for some, however, this attack was made in the night and a few of those at the time in the settlement escaped to the brush and timber growing in considerable quantities in that locality. Among this number was a man named George Harris, who, although wounded, lay concealed in the brush all night within sight of the burning settlement, and although several times the Indians came close to where he lay he was not discovered and finally made his escape to the sparse settlements on the La Bonte. As already stated, several others made their escapes some to the La Bonte, others to Ft. Laramie, and two or three came in at Ft. Fetterman—all of them, however, in a

half frozen and half famished condition. It was never known just how many were killed in the attack on Horse Shoe, but there must have been twenty at least.

The bloody tragedy at Horse Shoe was almost immediately followed by an indiscriminate massacre of every settler along the entire route from Ft. Laramie to the but recently established military post called Ft. Fetterman. Not a single ranch or station escaped visitation at the hands of the murderous Sioux, and but very few persons escaped to tell the story. Every ranch along the route was burned to the ground and such a trail of devastation and blood was left to indicate the work of the savages, that the awful track of violence became known as the "Bloody Trail Massacre." Upwards of forty persons in all fell victims to the brutality of the savages, and of this number ten were women. Names have been forgotten so that at present it is impossible to give them. Nearly all of the victims were new comers in the country and were not known to any extent to those who at that time lived in and around Fort Laramie. Whole chapters might be written of the outrages committed by the Sioux prior to and for a short time subsequent to the events last related which occurred in the winter of 1867-1868, but space will not admit of more than has already been given in relation to them.

It remains, however, as a fitting conclusion to the chapter—or rather series of chapters on the dark and eventful days which were experienced in the early times at and in the regions of Fort Laramie, to briefly allude to some of the daring men who figured prominently in the history of the early times.

Of these Col. Bullock, H. B. Kelly, W. F. Lee, Levi Ashenfelter, Isaac Bettelyoun, John Phillips and others have already been mentioned. There are others, however, who deserve notice and among them are Jules Ecoffey, Adolph Coney, John Ryan generally known as "Posey" Ryan who was made the hero of one of the western stories written by a gifted writer of the east, Richard Whalen, F. M. Phillips, John Hunton, Thomas Hall, Hon. Gibson Clark and many others whose adventures and experiences would of themselves make an interesting history. Two of the most noted personages who figured during the early times at Ft. Laramie and vicinity must, however, be briefly alluded to here. They are John Reshaw and "Stuttering" Brown, so called from an unfortunate difficulty which the name will itself indicate. No one remembers that he had any other name than the one given here and if he did, it was never heard of. Brown had a mule which in many respects was a marvel and seemed to be possessed of a sort of an intuitive knowledge of what was wanted

of him. Mounted upon the back of this mule, Brown would go anywhere and everywhere day or night when no other white man at Ft. Laramie dared to venture out of gunshot range of the post. Brown, who was quite well advanced in years, had but little to say to any one, though was always ready to take a hand in a fight with the Indians when by so doing he could be of any assistance to others. As a general thing, however, Brown's outgoings and incomings were by himself, and for years he lived the life of a recluse. The words of the poet as applied to the old Yellowstone hermit:

"In the Indian wars he lurks aloof
And ever when met by rare good chance
He glides from the pathway haggard and lean.
With bended head and abstracted glance
It is only known that stately and grand
The hermit hunter lives all alone,
With the cataract's thunder forever at hand
In the wonder world of the Yellowstone,"

would also apply to Stuttering Brown. At length, early in the year of 1868, both Brown and the mule disappeared and neither have since been heard of to this day. John Reshaw, whose father also lived for many years in the vicinity of Ft. Laramie, was another peculiar character and in some respects a dangerous one. He was a half-breed, but in some way acquired a good education and years ago used to take contracts of the government, and it is safe to say that the government never got much the best of him in those matters. At length Reshaw shot and killed a soldier near Ft. Fetterman after which he joined the Indians and for more than a year was one of their leaders in the depredations they committed prior to 1868 in the vicinity of Ft. Laramie. It was during this time that a large party of Indians, of whom Reshaw was the leader, surrounded in the night time a small party of whites camped on the La Bonte, but while peering through the bushes at the prospective victims whom it was supposed to kill and scalp, Reshaw discovered T. Jeff Carr now U. S. Marshal for Wyoming in the party. Prior to that time Reshaw had known Carr, who was also one of the fearless pioneers of that region and seeing him in the party he called off the Indians and the little party never knew of their narrow escape until years afterwards. Subsequently, President Grant issued an amnesty order in Reshaw's case and he rejoined the whites, but after quarreling with and killing an Indian chief somewhere above Ft. Laramie he was murdered by the Sioux, in revenge, in the early part of the year 1874.

While many sad and lamentable affairs happened dur-

ing the period that has been treated of in the preceding chapters, occasionally, as in all wars, something happened of a laughable or humorous character. One of these instances only will be related. At the battle with the Indians near the mouth of Horse Creek, the fight lasted some two or three hours. Judge W. F. Lee, now of Cheyenne, and who is familiarly called "Billy" was one of the leaders of the whites in that fight, and it was he who first made a barricade of the wagons as a protection against the Indians. "Billy" at that time had along with him a very small keg of whiskey which contained about one-half of its original contents when the fight began. He visited the keg during the fight and when it was over went around for a final drachm. The whiskey was all gone and Billy was about to go on the "warpath" to find out who had consumed it, but finally remembered that no one of the party knew where it had been concealed but himself, and concluding that he must have visited it oftener than he had supposed, very discreetly said nothing about it to the balance of the party. While farther along in this work it will be necessary to refer again to Indian troubles around Ft. Laramie and elsewhere in what is now Laramie county; the writer must now leave this branch of the subject and turn his attention to events which by 1867-1868 had begun to transpire elsewhere.

Chapter V

Laramie County

Cheyenne—A Prelude—The First Rush—A City of Tents— The First Building—Its First Inhabitants—The Town-site—Other Early Matters.

Some writer a number of years ago wrote the following which appeared in the "Pacific Tourist": "Like all other Frontier towns, Cheyenne has a history and it is similar to that of others." This writer was wrong, Cheyenne has a history but it is in most respects unlike that of any other town or city on the American continent. It has a remarkable history, although for the reason that people as a general thing fail to see, or if they do see, fail to appreciate the fact, that important history is being made in their midst, this matter has been persistently overlooked. People at home can never as a general thing, be made to understand—for example—that they have eminent men among them, and according to their theory and understanding, the "eminent man" is always abroad somewhere—never at home. In places five hundred, and even one thousand, miles from Cheyenne one can hear the statement made that, "the ablest and most eloquent lawyer

I ever listened to was a lawyer out at Cheyenne, etc.," but in Cheyenne the finest lawyer will not be found in Cheyenne, but some other place, abroad. So in regard to matters that make history—important history—they always happen somewhere else and are never looked for at home. When the fact is remembered that in just two years six months and ten days from the date of the erection of the first building in Cheyenne, in obedience to the moral and political sense of her people, the political emancipation of 500,000,000 of women throughout the world was for the first time officially proclaimed, and the guaranty of their equal political rights and privileges enjoined in an embryo empire nearly as large again in area as the whole of New England—an announcement which created a profound sensation throughout the civilized world—it must be admitted by every thinking man and woman that Cheyenne has made a history that will endure forever in the annals of the world.

Some years ago a gentleman named J. H. Triggs undertook to write a history of Cheyenne, but only a few facts were eventually given in reference to early events in Cheyenne, the balance of the book being devoted to a description of the resources and prospects of the northern country, and particularly of the Black Hills country. Although the present writer assisted in gathering what few facts there were given in the book in reference to Cheyenne and would, therefore, be justified in reverting to them for the present work, yet from the fact that this is not intended to be a "puff" for the country, but an impartial and correct record of events, there is little or nothing in the work alluded to that is available as material now. Two incidents, however, in the early history of Cheyenne, one of them with an incorrect date, have been found in the book alluded to, which were not ascertained from other sources.

Robert E. Strahorn's "Hand Book of Wyoming" was written a few years later, but the present writer has not seen it for a long time, and all that can be said of it here is that it was an exceedingly well written book and contained much valuable information, mainly of a descriptive character.

It was said in the olden times that "all roads lead to Rome," and in a certain sense the saying was a true one. and while it may not be said that all roads in Wyoming lead to Cheyenne, it can be said that nearly all of the history of Laramie county, worth relating, and much of the history of the territory itself since Cheyenne was founded, has either had its beginning or ending there. For this reason the history of Laramie county from the time Cheyenne was established (except what has already been given) will be given as part of—or rather contemporaneously with—that of the "Magic

City of the Plains" (Cheyenne's poetic name) from this point to the end.

The construction of the Union Pacific Railroad across the plains was a gigantic, as well as dangerous undertaking, and in order that the work might progress safely and expeditiously, the United States government sent out many troops and established military posts along the line of the road, and in many instances these troops were posted at convenient points even before the final survey had been completed. Such was the case in the vicinity of what is now Cheyenne. Quite a body of troops were sent forward and went into camp at what is now Ft. D. A. Russell (of which mention at some length will be made farther along) some weeks before the Cheyenne townsite was laid out as the rush to that point had begun. This was in the spring of 1867 and before it had been clearly understood where the western terminus of the road would be for the approaching winter. Very soon, however, after it had been definitely decided that a halt until the spring of 1868 would be made on the banks of Crow Creek, a rush for this point, eventually, followed. The new comers were few and far between at first, and by the middle of June, '67, there were probably not to exceed fifty people camped in tents on the site of the present city of Cheyenne. There were so many in the first party that arrived on the banks of the creek that it is impossible at this time to give the names of all of them and it will not be attempted. Judge J. R. Whitehead, who is still a resident of Cheyenne, (1886) was however one of the party. Henry Altman who arrived at the proposed new townsite on June 15, '67 says there were not more than twenty people, all told, camped on Crow Creek when he reached that point. In a very few days, however, the great rush began and by the 1st of July there were many hundreds of people on the ground, most of whom temporarily occupied tents.

A whole chapter might be devoted to a description of the great rush which brought hundreds—and even thousands to the banks of Crow Creek about this time, but space forbids. Tents were pitched everywhere, and so numerous were they that what is now Cheyenne was at first called "The City of Tents," but later on, because of its sudden marvelous and rapid growth, it was christened "The Magic City of the Plains," though by whom, tradition is silent.

(To be continued)

THE CHINESE MASSACRE

(Part II)*

By Paul Crane and Alfred Larson

The Chinese miners who were brought back to Rock Springs under army escort a week after they had fled from the scene of the massacre were lodged in box cars near the troop encampment. Before long they were at work in the mines again,¹ and the rebuilding of Chinatown began. The Union Pacific Coal Department was able to continue its policy of using both Chinese and white labor. The company discharged forty-five whites who were considered participants in the riot, but put other whites back at work.²

For a time the issue remained in doubt, and the presence of the army was all that prevented another outbreak. The Rock Springs Independent appealed to public opinion outside of Rock Springs: "Let the demand go up from one end of the Union Pacific to the other, THE CHINESE MUST GO."³ Other editors added their voices to the clamor against the company's policy.⁴ The Knights of Labor tried to put an end to the employment of Chinese. White inhabitants of Rock Springs almost unanimously were ready to deny that the massacre had been wicked or wrong.⁵ As long as this spirit prevailed, the army was needed to prevent a repetition of the massacre. Three Government directors of the Union Pacific Railroad who investigated the massacre reported a week after the Chinese had been returned to Rock Springs that the ninety soldiers on duty were overworked and should be re-enforced.⁶ For a time the sheriff of Sweetwater County could depend on no assistance from the white inhabitants in maintaining order.⁷ Gradually, however, the spirit of revolt was dissipated until it was possible to withdraw the troops.

The Chinese consul at San Francisco, who went to Rock Springs to investigate, deplored the refusal of the Sweetwater

* The first part of this study appeared in the January, 1940 issue of the Annals.

¹ House Reports, 1st Session, 49th Congress, 1885-1886, Vol. 7, Report No. 2044, "Providing Indemnity to Certain Chinese Subjects," p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ *Supra*, p. 51.

⁴ *The Chinese Massacre*, p. 7 ff.

⁵ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷ *Ibid.*



The Massacre of the Chinese at Rock Springs, Wyoming
Drawn by T. de Thulstrup from photographs by Lieutenant C. A. Booth, Seventh United States Infantry. (This illustration and caption appeared in Harper's Weekly, page 637, September 26, 1885.)

County grand jury to act upon testimony provided by Chinese.⁸ The failure of the grand jury to bring in any indictments brought the release of sixteen whites who had been arrested.⁹

Although the Chinese were allowed to go back to work, it was evident that they could get no redress locally for the property losses they had suffered. The Chinese consul at New York who had gone to Rock Springs and joined the San Francisco consul in investigating the massacre secured a list of estimated individual losses, totalling \$147,748.74. This list was submitted to the United States Department of State by the Chinese ambassador in Washington, Cheng Tsao Ju. The ambassador November 30, 1885, in a formal note which Senator Sherman of Ohio called "one of the most eloquent, one of the most beautiful compositions I know of in our language,"¹⁰ asked that guilty persons be punished, that Chinese subjects be indemnified, and that measures be adopted to protect Chinese from further attacks.¹¹ He contended that the attack upon the Chinese was unprovoked, "in broad daylight," and that the judicial proceedings were a "burlesque" since there had been no indictments.

Inasmuch as Secretary of State Evarts in 1880 and Secretary of State Blaine in 1881 had denied the legal liability of the United States Government to provide indemnity for losses occurring when a mob assaulted Chinese in Denver in 1880, the Chinese ambassador undertook to show that indemnity should be provided for losses at Rock Springs notwithstanding these views. In one material respect, opined the Chinese ambassador, the Rock Springs case differed from the Denver case. Colorado was a State in 1880; Wyoming was still only a Territory in 1885. It was the ambassador's interpretation of our Constitution that while the Federal Government cannot interfere in the administration and execution of State laws, the administration of justice and the protection of life and property are functions of the Federal Government in a Territory.

The ambassador declared, furthermore, that international usage suggests that indemnity should be made. There is, said he, a principle of reciprocal justice and comity, the Golden Rule, which is applicable to Governments in international relations. American citizens in China have the same

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁰ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, p. 5110.

¹¹ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 4 ff. Arguments of the Chinese Ambassador and of Secretary of State Bayard in reply which appear in full in the House Reports are also given at considerable length in John Bassett Moore's *Digest of International Law*, Vol. VI.

protection of the laws, and right to indemnity for losses, as Chinese subjects have in the United States. What, then, he asked, has been the United States Government's practice with reference to damages suffered by United States citizens from mob violence in China? In 1858 the Government of China paid to the United States the sum of \$735,258.97 "in full liquidation of all claims of American citizens." The Chinese Government at that time accepted the claims presented by the United States Government without examining the evidence on which the claims were based. The Chinese ambassador submitted an abstract of other cases in which the United States Government had asked for punishment of offenders and indemnity to citizens.¹² It cannot be believed, wrote the Chinese ambassador, "that the United States would so far violate the spirit of the 'golden rule' . . . as to require of China that which under similar circumstances it would not concede to China in reciprocity."

The Chinese ambassador also referred to the case in 1851 when mobs in New Orleans and Key West destroyed Spanish houses, and the Spanish subjects were indemnified from the United States Treasury.¹³ On that occasion, too, the United States Secretary of State had declared that Spanish residents were entitled to no more protection than native-born citizens. The Chinese ambassador understood, he wrote, that the indemnification of the Spaniards "was a voluntary act of good will, above and beyond the strict authorization of domestic law."¹⁴ But that indemnification indicated that in the past the President and Congress had found a way to overcome the obstructions cited by Webster, Evarts, and Blaine, and suggested that a way could now be found for the Chinese.

The Chinese ambassador asked the indulgence of the Secretary of State for one further point. When a special United States embassy went to Peking to ask for modification of the 1868 immigration treaty, that embassy gave assurances that if China conceded modifications Chinese laborers already in the United States "should have ample protection guaranteed to them by a specific treaty stipulation and that the Government would 'construe all such obligations in that spirit of friendly liberality which has marked its relations with the Chinese Government'."¹⁵ The ambassador intimated that thereby the United States Government incurred an increased obligation to protect Chinese laborers.

¹² House Reports, loc. cit., p. 41 ff.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

¹⁴ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 8.

¹⁵ Ibid.

President Cleveland in his first annual message to Congress in December, 1885, recommended that "all the power of this Government should be exerted to maintain the amplest good faith toward China in the treatment of these men, and the inflexible sternness of the law in bringing the wrongdoers to justice should be insisted upon."¹⁶

Secretary of State Bayard replied formally to Cheng Tsao Ju's note February 18, 1886.¹⁷ He agreed that the massacre was deplorable. ". . . I denounce with feeling and indignation the bloody outrages and shocking wrongs. . . . There is nothing to extenuate such offenses against humanity and law. . . ." He then considered at length the question of Government responsibility, holding with his predecessors in the State Department that in such cases the Government was not legally liable. He corrected the Chinese ambassador's interpretation of our Constitution by pointing out that the Territory of Wyoming enjoyed local self-government with full authority to maintain order and administer justice. With reference to maintaining order, preserving the peace, and punishing infractions of it ". . . the local authority and responsibility is in practice as self-contained in a Territory as in a State."¹⁸ Unfortunately, wrote Bayard, the scene of the massacre was "a rude commencement of a community on the outposts of civilization . . .," where there were few representatives of formal recognized authority.¹⁹ The Chinese went there voluntarily. There was no representative of the United States Government or Territory of Wyoming among the assailants; hence, no official insult or wrong. Assailants, as well as assailed, were aliens; so there was nothing national in what occurred.

Bayard explained that no exceptional obligation rested upon the United States toward Chinamen through reciprocity, since Chinese subjects within the jurisdiction of the United States at the time had far greater privileges and immunities than did American citizens in China, particularly with reference to the right to "go and come of their own free will and accord." Chinese in this country were accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions pertaining to citizens and subjects of the most favored nation. The same courts administered the same laws to Chinese subjects and

¹⁶ House Reports, loc. cit., p. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59 ff.

¹⁸ In the Senate debate Sherman of Ohio was not so ready to admit that Federal responsibility was not greater in a Territory: "Remember this was in a Territory where the Government of the United States is the only power, where the jurisdiction of Congress is absolute and complete." *Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, p. 5111.

American citizens, except that the Chinese alien was more favored in that he could select either a State or a Federal court, whereas a citizen in many cases had no such option.

It is not, Bayard continued, the obligation of the United States Government to indemnify individuals injured by other individuals. Remedies must be sought in the courts. The action of the United States in 1850 with reference to an attack on the Spanish consulate at New Orleans was no exception. It was denied at that time that there was any obligation on the part of the United States. Moreover there was a special immunity attached to the Spanish consular representative.

Although Bayard emphatically denied all liability, he added that in view of the shocking outrages and the complete failure of the police authorities, generosity and pity might induce the President to recommend that Congress indemnify the Chinese.

President Cleveland in a special message March 2, 1886, placed the question of indemnification before Congress.¹⁹ The President called attention particularly to the latter part of Bayard's note where the absence of provocation and the failure of Wyoming Territorial officers to bring the guilty parties to justice were cited as possible reasons for Government generosity. After this suggestion from the President a bill was introduced which authorized the President to ascertain the damages and to award an aggregate amount not exceeding \$150,000.²⁰

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations unanimously recommended indemnification, and it was soon apparent that the bill would become law. On the whole Senate approval was based on generosity and pity rather than on a feeling that there was any legal liability. A few Senators objected to payment when there was no recognized liability. Senator Mitchell of Oregon maintained that he would vote nothing for the Chinese until Congress should pay at least part of twelve or thirteen million dollars due to frontiersmen on account of losses suffered by Indian depredations.²¹ He argued, further, that indemnification would set a precedent which would be cited many times in the future whenever one set of resident aliens injured another set. He asked those in favor of the bill whether a civil suit of any kind had been brought by any Chinese subject who had suffered loss of property at Rock Springs. He was told that a private suit

¹⁹ House Reports, loc. cit., pp. 1-3.

²⁰ Congressional Record, Vol. 17, p. 5184.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5113.

would appear to be hopeless since a year had gone by without any criminal indictments.²²

Senator Cockrell of Missouri also objected to payment. "I do not believe in the principle of making the people of the United States, the tax-payers of this country, responsible for the class of people that corporations and monopolies may import into the country to displace American labor, and make them responsible for the depredations they may commit upon each other."²³ It was his opinion that the Chinamen who went to Rock Springs as contract laborers knew that it was an exposed place, that the authority of the United States was weak there, and that they were going there to displace white laborers. Despite such opposition from a few Senators the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 30 to 10, with 36 Senators absent.²⁴

In the House of Representatives, as in the Senate, it was recognized generally that the Federal Government was under no legal obligation, although Congressman Rice insisted that there was such an obligation under international law.²⁵ Congressman McKenna and Wyoming Territory's delegate, Joseph M. Carey, questioned the appraisal of property damage. The assessed valuation of Sweetwater County in 1885 was about two and a half million dollars, of which only \$200 represented property belonging to Chinese.²⁶ Congressman Worthington wanted to indemnify the Chinese, but not because of any well established principle of international law nor as a gratuity. He preferred to pay as a matter of policy, in view of the fact that there were nearly a thousand American residents in China and hundreds of thousands of American dollars invested there.²⁷

Evident in the debates in both Senate and House was the feeling that the suspension of Chinese immigration in 1882 should be made permanent. Wyoming Territory's delegate, Carey, outlined two possibilities for the future of Wyoming Territory:

Owing to the building of new railroads, to the inexhaustible coal fields of Wyoming Territory ten thousand miners will within a very short time be required. If these miners be Mongolians, they will add nothing to the wealth

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5187.

²³ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, p. 5112.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5235.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4471.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4428 and 4474.

²⁷ *Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, p. 4429.

of the Territory, but will sap its very life, and the mining camps will consist only of huts. If the miners employed be white men, besides adding great wealth to the Territory it will bring forty to fifty thousand additional population, and instead of villages of Chinese huts, well-built towns will spring up, in which will live thrifty populations.

Indemnification of the Chinese sufferers was enacted finally February 24, 1887. The sum asked by the Chinese ambassador, \$147,748.74, was paid to the Chinese Government for distribution among those who lost property.

Although the Union Pacific won its battle to keep Chinese at work and the United States Government paid for property losses, the fears expressed in 1885, that it was the intention to make a Chinatown of Rock Springs, were not realized. Several factors made it desirable, if not necessary, for the company to restrict rather than increase the employment of Chinese. In the first place Congress had suspended immigration of Chinese in 1882; and that temporary exclusion was later made permanent. In the second place sentiment in the Territory was against further employment of Chinese. Another consideration that must have influenced the company was the one outlined by Joseph M. Carey, Wyoming's delegate in Congress, who has been quoted above. Chinese laborers sent their earnings home to their families. They added nothing to the wealth of the Territory. Employment of whites offered the best prospects for Wyoming's future development and prosperity—in which the Union Pacific would share.

It was unfortunate that the Union Pacific chose to bring Chinese into the mines in the first place. Much embarrassment would have been avoided for all concerned if some compromise could have been worked out with the white miners who went out on strike in 1875. Company officials, however, were in no mood to accept dictation from the white miners. Nor were they any more ready to accept dictation from white miners, supported by the Knights of Labor national organization, in 1885. But after, with army assistance, they had put the Chinese back in the mines, and had won that particular engagement, they were ready to take a long-range view and to modify their policy. No more Chinese laborers were added. The company officials recognized, however, a certain obligation to the Chinamen whom they had brought in. These were kept at work until they died, or until they were returned to China at company expense and on

pensions. Four who reside in Canton are still receiving pensions from the company.²⁸

The gradual exodus of Chinamen from Wyoming is indicated by the United States Census returns for the Territory and State, and for Sweetwater and Uinta counties where most of the Chinamen have been:

Year	Number of Chinese in Whole Territory or State	Number of Chinese in Sweetwater County	Number of Chinese in Uinta County
1870	143	95	32
1880	914	497	357
1890	465	349	59
1900	461	318	64
1910	246	103	54
1920	252	104	27
1930	130	55	18

The Chinese who remain in the state have gone into occupations other than mining. At present the only Chinaman working in the Union Pacific mines is the son of an old Chinaman who formerly worked in the mines but is no longer able to do so.

²⁸ Information regarding the retirement of Chinese miners was secured for the authors by George Schmidt of the Rock Springs Daily Rocket who interviewed company officials.

DO YOU KNOW THAT—

The first time Wyoming presented an Exhibit at a World's Fair was the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, in 1893? In a publication comprising the Second Report of the Wyoming Historical Society at Cheyenne, by Robert C. Morris, Secretary, in 1900, a detailed account of the displays under various classifications, is given.

Of the 31 pages in the booklet, 14 are devoted to a report of the Wyoming exhibit, for which the sum of \$30,000.00 was appropriated by the State for cost of constructing a Wyoming building, as well as other expenses.

Awards were made to 10 exhibitors under the group including minerals, ores, native metals, gems and crystals and geological specimens, and a total of approximately 50 awards were made under various classifications, including coal, coke and petroleum, building and ornamental stone, agriculture and "Photographs of topographical and geographical features, from Sundance west," being a set of 150 pictures by Wm. H. Jackson. A collection of these pictures is now on display in the Wyoming State Museum, Cheyenne.

ACCESSIONS

January 1, 1940, to March 31, 1940

MUSEUM

Miscellaneous Gifts

Guild, Charles F., Piedmont, Wyoming—Buffalo skull, found by donor on his ranch, in December, 1939.

Blackman, Rev. John C., Cheyenne, Wyoming—A carbon single filament electric light bulb and fluted glass fixture from the First Congregational Church, Cheyenne, built in 1883; oldest church building in Cheyenne.

Logan, E. A., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Cartridge used in old Spencer rifle.

Lawson, Samuel A., 410 East Twenty-fourth St., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Candle holder made by donor in 1885, while a brakeman on a Union Pacific passenger train.

Guild, Lorin, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Two old hand-made nails from Fort Laramie.

Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation, Sunrise, Wyoming—Two specimens of iron ore, locally called steel ore or specular hematite; and one specimen copper ore, containing minerals, asurite, cuprite and malachite.

Pictures—Gifts

Heath, Mrs. Laura C. Huntington, Rawlins, Wyoming—Photograph of her sister, Mrs. Gertrude H. Merrill, whose husband was Judge Homer Merrill. The two sisters purchased and published the Platte Valley Lyre from 1889 to 1898, when Laura married Alfred Heath, of Saratoga, Wyoming, and the newspaper was sold.

Erwin, Mrs. Marie H., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Forty-six photographs of historical subjects, including old Fort Laramie, early days in Douglas, Wyoming, State Fair parades, etc.

Montgomery, John, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Twenty-six photographs of historical subjects, including scenes at Fort Bridger, Fort Laramie and Register Rock, Guernsey, and the following pioneers: Dr. June Etta Downey, Dean Earl D. Hay, Justice F. Soule, Dr. Aven Nelson, Edward Ivinson, Otto Gramm, A. E. Bowman and Judge V. J. Tidball.

Lawson, Samuel A., 410 East Twenty-fourth St., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Framed photograph of donor, with pair of antlers, taken in 1886. Size, 13"x17"; tinted.

Pamphlets—Gifts

Erwin, Mrs. Marie H., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Five booklets of Oregon Trail Memorial Association.

The Wyoming Tribune and the Wyoming Eagle, Cheyenne, Wyoming—Five copies of 1940 Classified Business and Professional Directory, in booklet form.

Adamsky, Mrs. R. S., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Booklet, report of Cheyenne Board of Trade, July, 1887, compiled by Robert C. Morris; and booklet, Constitution and By-Laws of T. C. Durant Steam Fire Engine Company No. 1 of the City of Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, 1887.

King, Norman D., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Forty-five copies of "America's Historical Opportunity," by Oregon Trail Memorial Association. 27-Pg. booklet; illustrated; 1937.

HERARD COLLECTION

ANNALS of WYOMING

Vol. 12

July, 1940

No. 3

A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



THE FIRST FRONTIER COMMITTEE—1897

Left to right in carriages: Warren Richardson, chairman; J. A. Martin, Granville R. Palmer, J. L. Murray, D. H. Holliday, E. W. Stone, Clarence B. Richardson and E. A. Slack



Published Quarterly

by

The Wyoming Historical Department
Cheyenne, Wyoming



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by

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
GLADYS F. RILEY
State Librarian and Ex-Officio State Historian
Cheyenne, Wyoming

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The Wyoming State Historical Department invites the presentation of museum items, letters, diaries, family histories and manuscripts of Wyoming citizens. It welcomes the writings and observations of those familiar with important and significant events in the history of the State.

In all ways the Department strives to present to the people of Wyoming and the Nation a true picture of the State's past. The ANNALS OF WYOMING is one medium through which the Department seeks to gain this objective. All communications concerning the Annals should be addressed to Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, Wyoming Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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A Memorial to the Members of The Constitutional Convention of Wyoming

●

In the Capitol at Cheyenne on September 2, 1889, gathered the most outstanding body of men ever assembled in the history of Wyoming. Fifty-five delegates had been elected from the ten territorial counties then existent, and they came together for the momentous task of framing the Constitution of the proposed new State. The group convened in the Supreme Court room, referred to during the sessions as "Constitutional Hall," and the deliberations continued throughout twenty-five days, to September 30.

It was a crucial period, but that assemblage was nobly equal to the occasion, and in this Golden Anniversary Year of Wyoming Statehood, 1940, that historical document is still recognized as a masterly instrument in its "clarity, brevity and composition;" its provision, granting to women the rights of suffrage on the same basis as those accorded to men, was the first time in history that such a clause had been written into the Constitution of a State. The document is a lasting monument to those who had even a small part in its evolution and adoption. Were all those delegates living today, they validly could look across the half-century span in retrospect and declare with the Honorable William E. Chaplin,

EDITOR'S NOTE: In presenting these biographical sketches as a memorial to the men who planned and perpetuated the text of the Constitution of Wonderful Wyoming, due acknowledgment is made of the gracious cooperation of pioneer citizens in the capital city, from over the State and from more distant points. All obligingly responded to inquiries of the Wyoming Historical Department by providing such information as was within their knowledge.

Special recognition for assistance is due the three living persons actively connected with the 1889 Convention, namely, two delegates, Honorable William E. Chaplin, from Albany County, now a resident of Van Nuys, California, and Judge Henry S. Elliott from Johnson County, now of Seattle, Washington, together with the official stenographer of the Convention, Miss Louise S. Smith, of Cheyenne.

Mr. Chaplin contributed the comprehensive article entitled "Reminiscences of a Member of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention," which appears in this issue of the *Annals*, and Judge Elliott, notwithstanding frail health, responded promptly to the inquiries of this Department.

“* * * it was my opinion at the time I signed the Constitution of Wyoming that the Convention had performed well. I think so yet.”

The lives and activities of these representative men form an impressive skyline across Wyoming's background, in which the tall spires of their superior intellect, keen perception, unqualified integrity and high ideals outline a superb lesson in exemplary citizenship. It is impossible to honor them too greatly—masterful men, from the East, South and Middle West—broadly informed, and for the most part educated and specifically trained in various lines. Several were former or later Governors of the Territory or State. A number were Confederate and Union Veterans of the Civil War, thoroughly accustomed to dangers and hardships, and approximately one-third were lawyers. Others were exceptionally well drilled in the valuable school of practical business experience. Almost fifty per cent held high degrees in the Masonic Order, a fraternal organization, of which its precepts for right and justice are universally known.

One and all, they had arrived in this rough and sparsely inhabited Territory on various missions—some by appointment from the United States Government—and all were aggressive, resourceful and versatile, of the type best suited to plan the procedure and direct the formation of an embryo commonwealth.

Destiny, in her benign way, bestowed a signal honor upon this royal regiment of brilliant citizens, out of whose deliberations emerged that historic document.

Miss Smith personally gathered data and furnished to the Historical Department the biographical “copy” on the majority of the Laramie County members, and gave valuable assistance in locating and identifying old photographs for reproduction in connection with this article.

Besides this cooperation from various individuals, the pages of the accepted histories of Wyoming were consulted, as well as the old newspaper files and the printed word from miscellaneous sources.

But it is extremely difficult, and in many instances practically impossible, to reach back across the years and grasp a set of facts concerning personalities of such distant days with certainty that all those purported facts are accurate. The recordings of historians are sometimes at variance, and truth is elusive. Misinformation frequently is inadvertently given to the inquirer due to the uncertainty of memory, and thus errors find their way into print. Therefore, while this explanation is not to be construed as an alibi for any inaccuracies, it is designed to present some of the handicaps faced by writers on historical matter.

Albany County*

MELVILLE C. BROWN, President of the Constitutional Convention, was born on a farm near Augusta, Maine, on August 16, 1838, and died at Laramie, Wyoming, on April 10, 1918.

He migrated to California when only 18 years old, and engaged in business, studied law, ventured into politics and mining, and in that state and also Idaho, he developed an aggressiveness and leadership, which marked his active life as a prominent lawyer and citizen of Wyoming, where he was known as "the dean of the Wyoming bar."

He came to Wyoming from Idaho where he held important mining interests which he disposed of, settled at Cheyenne in October, 1867, began the practice of law, but moved to Laramie City on May 1, 1868, nine days before arrival of the first Union Pacific train. Almost immediately he was elected first mayor of that new rough-and-ready town, but "resigned in disgust" three weeks later, though in after years he served as Laramie's mayor for a two-year term.

Judge Brown was a member of the second Territorial Legislature, served five years as U. S. Judge of the District of Alaska under appointment in 1890 by President William McKinley.

Of him, one of his contemporaries has written: "The record of no man in public life in Wyoming has been more faultless in honor, fearless in conduct or stainless in reputation than that of Judge Melville C. Brown. * * *"

WILLIAM E. CHAPLIN was born on February 25, 1860, at Omaha, Nebraska, and is one of the two living members of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention.

In 1873, he came from Omaha to Laramie City, where he was apprenticed to Colonel E. A. Slack on the Laramie Daily Independent, to learn the printer's trade.

In 1881 he became the first foreman on "The Boomerang," newly established by the famed humorist, Bill Nye, whose real name was Edgar Wilson Nye. Mr. Chaplin obtained an interest in that newspaper, and in 1890, he and an associate founded the Laramie Republican, of which the former was its editor until 1920.

He was a member of the City Council of Laramie from 1885 to 1889, mayor in 1894, registrar of the Public Land

*Eight Constitutional delegates were elected from Albany County, including Colonel Stephen W. Downey and John McGill whose names do not appear on the list of signers of the Constitution.



CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES

(Top row, left to right): Melville C. Brown, John W. Hoyt, Stephen W. Downey, William E. Chaplin; (Bottom row) Mortimer N. Grant, John McGill, George W. Fox, A. L. Sutherland, all from Albany County.

Office at Cheyenne from 1898 to 1915, and secretary of state from 1919 to 1923. In politics he is a Republican.

Mr. Chaplin, during his career as a newspaper publisher and writer, spread the story of Wyoming far and wide, as well as directed the public mind of the State into constructive channels, and thereby nurtured Wyoming's growth and development. Though now advanced in years, and living in another State, his loyalty to and interest in Wyoming remain unchanged, as evidenced by an excellent guest editorial which appeared in the Laramie Republican-Boomerang, Laramie Wyoming, issue of June 7, 1940, entitled "Wonderful Wyoming—Land of Opportunity." Reminiscent of personalities who started from "scratch," and are noted for outstanding accomplishments in Wyoming, Mr. Chaplin observes that "The record of the past is proof of what may be accomplished by the young men and young women of today."

Since retiring from active business life Mr. Chaplin has made his home in California, he and Mrs. Chaplin spending their vacations every year at their summer home above Centennial. Mr. Chaplin, who is 80 years old, drove across country for the 36th time on a trip from their present home at Van Nuys, California, to Wyoming, in June, 1940, where at the University of Wyoming in Laramie, Mr. Chaplin received the honorary degree of Doctor of Law.

This veteran citizen of Wyoming is a living source of detailed information concerning that momentous event, the Constitutional Convention, and continuously is besieged by avid seekers for first-hand information on the Convention procedure and its various ramifications as they developed from day to day.

STEPHEN WHEELER DOWNEY was born in Westport, Maryland, on July 25, 1839. On October 31, 1861, he enlisted as a private in the Civil War, followed by quick promotions, so that by the time he was 23, he was made a colonel, September 8, 1862. Obliged to resign from the Army because of severity of wounds, he was honorably discharged November 6, 1862.

Colonel Downey then prepared himself for the legal profession, moved to the Territory of Wyoming in 1869 and began his practice in Laramie. He was the first prosecuting attorney of Albany county, in 1869 and 1870, during the functioning of the first woman jury; elected as a member of the Territorial Council in 1871, 1875 and 1877; served as Territorial Treasurer, 1872-1875; Auditor, 1877-1879; elected on the Republican ticket to the Forty-sixth Congress (March 4, 1879-March 3, 1881); declined to be a candidate for renomi-

nation as he preferred to "devote his time to the development of the resources of Wyoming." Was elected as a member of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1866, and again in 1890; president of the board of trustees of the University of Wyoming, Laramie, 1891-1897; member of the State House of Representatives in 1893 and 1895, serving as speaker the latter year; was again prosecuting attorney for Albany county from 1899 until his death, August 3, 1902.

He drafted the bill creating the University of Wyoming and throughout his lifetime was imbued with an undying faith in the existence of great mineral treasures in the State.

Because of the illness of his father, Colonel Downey left the Convention after the first few sessions and was not present for signing the Constitution. The procedure, as recorded in the "Journals and Debates," indicates his active participation in the sessions during the first two days.

GEORGE W. FOX, born on August 18, 1838, in Preble County, Ohio, was reared as a farmer. Served in the 171st Regiment of Ohio Volunteers during the War of the Rebellion, and came west to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in the fall of 1865. In the spring of 1866 he crossed the plains to Montana with an emigrant train, by way of Fort Laramie and the Big Horn, fighting his way through the hostile Indian country. In Montana he engaged in mining until the fall of 1868 when he came to Wyoming, arriving at Laramie City on October 16, "two days before the vigilance committee made their descent upon the Boston Saloon." He operated a wholesale and retail meat and vegetable market, and was one of the leading merchants of the community.

Mr. Fox was chairman of the first board of trustees of the town; in 1874 was elected County Clerk; re-elected; member of the lower house in the Third Legislature, being elected in 1894, and in 1896 was elected to the State Senate for four years.

Of him, one of the early historians has said, "He was by nature a pioneer and having faith in the country and in the people, he was enabled to bear a conspicuous part in the upbuilding of all the interests in Albany County," and of his part in the Constitutional Convention, that "he served with distinction."

MORTIMER N. GRANT was born at Lexington, Missouri, on March 2, 1851.

Upon his arrival in Wyoming in 1869 he accepted a position with a surveying party, and in the fall took a con-

tract for surveying on his own account, and did some of the most important work in this regard ever performed in the State. The township in which Rawlins is located, also the townships of Rock Springs, Green River and Evanston, were surveyed by him, the work being completed in 1872.

Beginning with 1876 Mr. Grant was actively interested in mining in this State, including the Keystone Mine on Douglas creek. Later he spent some time in New Mexico and Arizona, returning to Laramie in 1885 and accepted appointment as Auditor of the Territory, which he held until after the first election in 1890. In 1894 he was elected Sheriff of Albany County, and served as president of the Mining and Stock Exchange upon its organization. He was one of the original and largest owners of the Douglas Consolidated Placer Mines, Albany County, which property he sold for the Company in January, 1897.

Mr. Grant was a pioneer who performed excellent service to his community and State.

JOHN W. HOYT, M. D., LL.D., was born on October 11, 1831, near Worthington, Ohio, and died on May 23, 1912, in Washington, D. C., at the age of 82, having passed his later years in literary work.

The third Territorial Governor of Wyoming, 1879-1882, Dr. Hoyt has been pointed out as the first of early Governors serving the Territory who remained to continue activities in its behalf after his original mission was ended. He accepted appointment from President Grant to the governorship of this raw and undeveloped western region, though he had declined a post as minister to Spain, and has been referred to as "one of the most remarkable men ever sent to Wyoming." During his term of office the Territory's population increased 100 per cent.

He was the first president of the University of Wyoming, from 1887 to 1890. Upon failure of re-election, he removed to Washington, D. C., where he spent the remainder of his life in authorship and in fostering his favorite project, a National University. "Wyoming owes much to Governor Hoyt's initiative and his promotional work in education and the arts, as well as in the development of the Territory's resources." Hoyt Hall at the University, Laramie, was named in his honor.

He traveled the State extensively, studying its resources and possibilities, and he is credited with having located

Togwotee Pass and the Shoshone River routes into the Yellowstone Park.

His impressive oratory and vivid writings wielded an influence of great worth to the State.

JOHN MCGILL was born on July 16, 1846, at Lennoxshire, Scotland, and when 20 years of age he crossed the Atlantic Ocean to Canada where he found employment. In May, 1868, he came to Wyoming.

He was a member of the last Territorial Council and the first State Senate, representing his district for six terms, and serving as its president for one term. He was Laramie County Commissioner for 12 years.

During about ten of the earlier years in Wyoming he was employed by Sprague, Davis and Company, manufacturers of ties for the Union Pacific Railroad Company, after which he established a ranch on the Big Laramie, directed his efforts to cattle and sheepraising, and when he sold out in 1915, had become one of the leading cattlemen of his section of the state. The years brought further prosperity, and upon retirement from stockraising, Mr. McGill moved to Laramie where he was a director of the Albany County National Bank.

One historian has said of him, "He not only wrought for himself, but he labored for the benefit of others and left his impress for good upon the annals of his commonwealth."

Mr. McGill died on March 15, 1918, at Denver, Colorado, while undergoing a surgical operation.

ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND was born in October, 1861, in the Dominion of Canada. He came to the United States with his parents when he was nine years old, and lived in Chicago until 1873 when the family moved to North Platte, Nebraska.

He came to Wyoming in 1880, and for several years was employed in riding the range in Johnson County. In 1893, he removed to the Big Horn Basin and settled on Tensleep River where he engaged in raising stock and farming on an efficient basis.

He served as a member of the Tenth Legislative assembly in 1909.

Mr. Sutherland was considered as "one of the progressive and energetic men of the county, whose impress was made in enduring lines on the minds of his fellow citizens and the local institutions of his county * * *" and recognized as a leading factor in the commercial life of his community.

Fremont County*

MAJOR NOYES BALDWIN was born on September 8, 1826, at Woodbridge, Connecticut, and died at Lander, Wyoming on January 12, 1893.

At the time of his marriage to Miss Josephine Wright, in San Francisco, California, on September 5, 1854, he was engaged in the contracting and building business, having traveled around Cape Horn to the West Coast. Unlike most early newcomers to Wyoming, he entered the territory from the west.

After a voyage in 1854 to Peru, in an unsuccessful attempt to recover a fortune in gold bullion from a sunken vessel off the coast, and in the fall of 1859, he was attracted to Nevada by gold excitement and located at Gold Hill. On July 3, 1860, his wife and family arrived by stage, and on that day a son, Melville N., was born.

Mr. Baldwin, in 1863, organized the First Nevada Cavalry of 100 men, and accompanied by his family, took station as Captain at Fort Churchill, near Carson City, Nevada. In 1864 he received the rank of Major and was transferred to Fort Douglas, Utah; the following year he was assigned to command at Fort Bridger, and was mustered out of service in 1866.

The same year he obtained a government license to trade with the Shoshone Indians and located at the mouth of the Popo Agie River, but abandoned the enterprise in the spring of 1867. The following year he established a store at South Pass and opened trade with the Indians in the Lander Valley, on Baldwin Creek.

Nine days after their son, George L., was born on May 4, 1869, (said to be the first white child born in the Lander Valley) Major Baldwin was obliged to remove his family and property to South Pass, because of danger from the Indians. A few months later when Camp Stambaugh was established, Major Baldwin was appointed first post trader, and here the family remained until the post's abandonment in 1878, after which they removed to Lander, erected a store and residence and continued to reside.

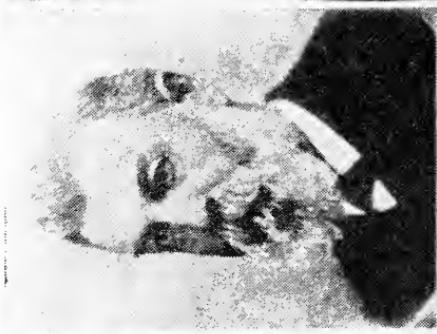
There were seven daughters and two sons born to Major and Mrs. Noyes, and numerous relatives are still living in the State.

C. G. Coutant, the Historian, says of this member of the Constitutional Convention, "There are few men who came to Wyoming as early as he did and made it their permanent resi-

*Three Constitutional delegates were elected from Fremont county, including Major Noyes Baldwin, whose name does not appear on the list of signers of the Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES

(Top row, left to right): John K. Jeffrey, Laramie County; Noyes Baldwin, D. A. Preston, H. G. Nickerson, all from Fremont County; (Bottom row) Charles H. Burritt, Johnson County; H. E. Teschemacher, Caleb P. Orga, both from Laramie County; Henry S. Elliott, John M. McCandlish from Johnson County.



dence. * * * Before he came to Wyoming he had seen much of the world, had large experience in business as well as in military affairs, and all this contributed toward making him the valuable citizen he proved himself to be in the frontier days of the territory."

HERMAN G. NICKERSON was born on May 4, 1841, at Litchfield, Ohio, and died on October 24, 1927, at Lander, Wyoming, at the age of 86, having spent 59 years in that section.

Enlisting with Company D, Twenty-third Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, in 1861, at the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Nickerson was transferred to the 168th Infantry and made Captain of Company I.

Because of ill health after the War he was forced to forego his law studies, and in 1866 came West to the new gold fields in Montana through Wyoming over the Bozeman Trail with ox teams, at the height of Indian hostilities. Two years later he returned to this area and settled at South Pass where he devoted his interests to mining activities for eighteen years and took prominent part in the life of the community.

He was the Republican candidate for the first Territorial Legislature, from whom Esther Morris at her famed "tea party" exacted a promise to introduce a bill giving to women the same rights of franchise as those accorded to men, and also to work for its passage. Mr. Nickerson was defeated by his Democratic opponent, Colonel W. H. Bright, from whom Mrs. Morris had received a similar promise, and which was fulfilled, with the framing and presenting of the renowned document known as the "Female Suffrage Bill."

Captain Nickerson was elected to the next session of the legislature, in 1871, and again in 1884 when through his efforts the county of Fremont was created out of Sweetwater county. He also served as treasurer of Fremont County, and probate judge from 1884-1887, as well as receiver of the United States Land Office at Lander, Wyoming, to which he was appointed in 1892 and served until the following year when he accepted appointment as Indian Agent on the Shoshoni reservation. He held the office of justice of the peace for twenty years.

He was the first superintendent of schools of Sweetwater county and was chairman of the first board of county commissioners of Fremont County.

At Elyria, Ohio, on April 12, 1874, Mr. Nickerson was married to Harriet J. Kelsey, and brought his school-teacher-bride to South Pass. Mrs. Nickerson taught the first public school in Lander and shared her husband's interest in civic and social affairs, in which she also was a leader.

Broad in his precepts and generous with his unusual talents of leadership, this member of the Constitutional Convention contributed largely to development of the resources of the Territory and State, as well as to its civic, cultural and industrial progress.

DOUGLAS A. PRESTON, born on December 19, 1858, at Olney, Illinois, arrived in Wyoming in about 1887 and settled first at Cheyenne, where he served as a clerk in the office of the Wyoming Attorney General. Later in the year he associated himself with John R. Dixon and established a law office in Rawlins, Wyoming.

In 1888 he moved to Lander where he continued his law practice until 1895 when he moved to Rock Springs, Wyoming, and followed his profession until 1912, specializing in criminal practice.

Before coming to Wyoming, Mr. Preston was prosecuting attorney for Richland County, Illinois, from 1880 to 1884.

A member of the Wyoming House of Representatives from 1903 to 1905, he was appointed as attorney general for Wyoming by Governor Carey in 1911, and was re-appointed to that office by Governor John B. Kendrick in 1919, for another four-year term.

Though an active Democrat in politics, he supported Joseph M. Carey, Progressive Republican, for Governor in 1910.

Mr. Preston was a member of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks.

His death in October, 1925, was the result of an automobile accident.

The recorded activities of Mr. Preston indicate that he was a citizen of splendid character and capabilities, and the records of the Constitutional Convention show that he took his share of responsibility in the deliberations of that body.

Johnson County*

CHARLES H. BURRITT, born at Manchester Depot, Vermont, on February 15, 1854, was educated at Brown University, Rhode Island, and the Detroit Law School. At the age of 22, in 1876, he was admitted to practice law in the State of Michigan.

When he first came to Wyoming in 1878, he obtained employment with George B. Dunham, a stockman operating on Horse Creek. Early in 1883 he was connected a few months

*All three Johnson county delegates signed the Constitution.

with the law office of Colonel Stephen W. Downey, at Laramie, Wyoming, before he moved to Buffalo, Wyoming, where he engaged in regular law practice, and took active part in the affairs of his community and State. He served several terms in the State Legislature.

In 1898 Mr. Burritt went to the Philippines with Company C., First Wyoming Volunteers, and while in the Islands he joined the 11th U. S. Cavalry. He was the first chief of the United States Mining Bureau of the Islands, was appointed Judge of the Court of the First Instance for central northern Luzon Provinces, resigned in 1907, returned to the United States and settled at Reno, Nevada, where he opened a law office, and where he died of pneumonia on June 1, 1927.

He spoke Spanish and Chinese fluently, and while in the Philippines he rendered the decision which "forever preserved for the Islanders their title to land, as superior to claims made by State and Church."

His adoption of a full-blooded Filipino girl was the first legal adoption of an Islander by an American. He educated his protege in the Philippine Normal School and she followed the profession of teaching until her marriage.

Mr. Burritt held numerous high offices in fraternal organizations, including the Knights of Pythias, the Masonic Order, and Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and was an active member of the Spanish American War Veterans. He also carried the dispensation to the Islands for establishment of Masonic Lodges.

He had a keen legal mind, and has been referred to as "the most active member in the Wyoming Territorial Convention in connection with establishment of the irrigation code and the provisions for irrigation in the Constitution." He also was an active sponsor of woman suffrage.

Among living descendants are a son, Edwin Wheeler Burritt, of Cheyenne, Wyoming, and a daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Snell, of San Francisco, California.

HENRY S. ELLIOTT, of Seattle, Washington, is one of the two living members of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention, and served as its temporary Chairman.

Mr. Elliott was born on March 26, 1858, at Beaufort, South Carolina, and came from that State to Wyoming in 1882. After a brief residence in Cheyenne he moved to Buffalo, Wyoming, where he served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Johnson County, and one term as Mayor of the town.

The son of a colonial family, and reared in the South, he was graduated from Columbia University, now known as George Washington University, Washington, D. C., and was admitted to the bar in 1879, when but twenty-one years of age.

On August 13, 1884, he was married to Miss Mary Helen Erhart of Buffalo, Wyoming, and to the couple six sons were born, all of whom are living.

In 1891 he moved to Washington State, residing a few months at Centralia, and afterward at Chehalis, where he served a four-year term as Superior Court Judge, of Lewis, Pacific and Wahkikum Counties.

In 1910, Mr. Elliott moved to Seattle, as one of the trial attorneys for The Seattle Electric Company, owner of the street car service. After the sale of the company to the City of Seattle, he was appointed United States Commissioner for the Western District of Washington, Northern Division, by United States District Judge Neterer, and entered upon his duties on August 13, 1923. Though 82 years of age, he still holds the position of U. S. Commissioner and performs the duties of that office.

Judge Elliott is a member of the Episcopal Church and several branches of the Masonic Order, including the Knights Templar, and Order of the Mystic Shrine, as well as other fraternal organizations.

Of him it is said in the History of King County (Washington) “* * * a profound scholar, he is learned not only in the technicalities of common law, but in the broad underlying philosophy of jurisprudence, and has shown an unusual capacity for administering the affairs of the office.”

JOHN M. McCANDLISH was born in Pennsylvania, and came to Wyoming from that State between 1880 and 1885. His first residence in the Territory was at Cheyenne, where he was in the employ of Caleb P. Organ, after which he made his home at Buffalo for a time before returning to his native state where it is thought he died in about 1900.

The record in the “Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, Wyoming,” shows that he took part in the regular procedure.

Laramie County*

GEORGE W. BAXTER was born on January 7, 1855, at Hendersonville, N. C., but soon afterward his father moved the family to Knoxville, Tennessee, where young Baxter spent his childhood and received his early education.

He was graduated from the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1877. As a second lieutenant in U. S. Cavalry, he saw service in the west, and in 1881 became a resident of Wyoming. His duties included service in Montana at the Sioux Agency, and in Wyoming at Fort D. A. Russell, Fort Washakie and Fort Laramie. He assisted in the capture of Chief Dull Knife and his band in 1878.

While at Fort Washakie he was delegated to construct the telegraph line from that point to Rawlins.

In 1880 before coming west he married a wealthy Tennessee girl, and to the couple were born a son and four daughters.

Colonel Baxter followed Francis E. Warren as the sixth Governor of the Territory, under appointment of President Grover Cleveland, November 6, 1886. He served for forty-five days after which he resigned.

After his resignation from the governorship, Mr. Baxter entered the cattle business and in 1888 became one of the incorporators of the Western Union Beef Company, first being a director, and for two years the manager, following which he was made president.

In the first State election following the Constitutional Convention, he was a candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket.

Though he left the State permanently and returned to the South with his family soon after his unsuccessful candidacy for Governor in 1890, he had distinguished himself during the Constitutional Convention and thereby holds a unique place in Wyoming history.

Mr. Baxter, on September 7, 1889, the sixth day of the Convention, introduced the woman suffrage section, which was File No. 25, entitled, "Concerning Female Suffrage," made an eloquent and persuasive plea in its behalf, and announced that his presence at the Convention was "to assist in the formation of a Constitution whose tendencies shall be to elevate the citizens of this State."

After eulogizing women in general, he thus declared his stand for the proposed equal suffrage bill: "I am for it, and

*Eleven Constitutional delegates were elected from Laramie County and all signed the Constitution.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION DELEGATES

(Top row, left to right): George W. Baxter, Henry G. Hay, James A. Johnston, Elliott S. N. Morgan; (Bottom row) Charles N. Potter, Thomas R. Reid, A. C. Campbell, John A. Riner, all from Laramie County.



I believe in it because of that great and overpowering consideration which should influence every man on this floor in casting his ballot, and that consideration is because it is right; because it is fair; and because it is just, and I shall ever regard as a distinguished honor my membership in this Convention on which for the first time in the history of all this broad land there is incorporated into the fundamental law of the State a provision which shall secure to every citizen, man or woman, the absolute and equal enjoyment of every right and privilege guaranteed under the law to every other citizen."

ANTHONY C. CAMPBELL was born in Doe Run, Pennsylvania, April 1, 1853, and was educated in his native state.

He came to Wyoming in territorial days and maintained his home in Cheyenne. Was United States District Attorney, attorney for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, the Standard Oil Company, as well as other large corporations, and was Assistant United States Attorney in the Interior Department. He was recognized nationally as an authority on public land law.

Mr. Campbell departed from this life on September 8, 1932, at Cheyenne, Wyoming, his wife having preceded him in death many years. There were three children, Frances, deceased, Mary G. Campbell and Thomas A. Campbell.

He retained during his life that keenness of intellect, loyalty to friends, and devotion to duty, both personally and professionally, which made him an eminent citizen and a distinguished lawyer.

HENRY G. HAY was born at Indianapolis, Indiana, October 31, 1847, educated at Vincennes, Indiana; Eastman Business College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and Harmony, Pa. (now Ambridge, Pa.).

He was located at Reedsville, Missouri, near Galena, where he became a surveyor. With John B. Thomas, he came to Wyoming in 1870 and set the first corner stone under government authorization in the Territory of Wyoming, and surveyed the southeastern portion of Wyoming.

In 1871, associated with John B. Thomas, he engaged in the sheep business, and built the Valley Ranch on Lone Tree Creek, ten miles southwest of Cheyenne, now owned by Warren Live Stock Company.

On November 18, 1874, he married Miss Ella Bullock, whom he had met at the home of Francis E. and Helen

Warren. To this union were born Henry G. Hay of Gary, Indiana, and Mildred Hay Gibbs of Pasadena, California.

In 1875 he formed a partnership with I. C. Whipple in the grocery business, sold to the Union Mercantile Company in 1883 at the location of the present Princess Theatre.

In December, 1881, he joined with J. M. Carey and Thomas Sturgis in the organization of the Stock Growers National Bank, and subsequently became operating head of the institution. This bank was one of the few that weathered the trying times of 1893.

From 1881 to 1893 he also engaged in range cattle business, associated with I. C. Whipple, with ranches located on the Laramie River and Chugwater and Cottonwood Creeks.

He was an active member and president of the Cheyenne Board of Trade, a member and Treasurer of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, a charter member of the Cheyenne Club, a member of the Lodge No. 1, A. F. and A. M., member of the building committee of the Carnegie Public Library and Cheyenne Opera House (opposite the Stock Growers Bank), and Commissioner to the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893.

Politically, he served as chairman of the Laramie County Republican Committee, was an active member of the Constitutional Convention. He served two separate terms as Treasurer of the State of Wyoming.

In 1903 he sold his holdings in the Stock Growers National Bank and moved to New York. There he became Assistant Treasurer of the United States Steel Corporation, filling this position until his death, August 18, 1919. He is buried in Vincennes, Indiana, beside his father and grandfather.

JOHN K. JEFFREY, secretary of the Constitutional Convention, was born on April 6, 1843, at Newburgh, Orange County, New York, and soon after the Civil War, of which he was a veteran, he left his native state for the West.

In 1868 he entered the employ of the Union Pacific Railroad at Cheyenne, Wyoming, and a year later he accepted a position with the Rogers and Company Bank. Subsequently he entered the service of the First National Bank of Cheyenne.

He served as clerk under appointment, at Camp Carlin, quartermaster's depot and commissary located between Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell, now Fort Francis E. Warren. The depot furnished all supplies for Fort Russell, Fort Fetterman, Fort Laramie and intermediate points.

Mr. Jeffrey held numerous other positions of public service in Cheyenne during his twenty-nine years residence there.

In 1880 he was appointed clerk of the District Court, First Judicial District, Cheyenne, where he served until his resignation on December 18, 1886. He was County Clerk of Laramie County, from 1879 to 1888, and again from 1893 to 1894. He also served as City Clerk for three years.

At the conclusion of the Convention sessions, the body voted as a gift to Mr. Jeffrey the handsome gold pen used by the 45 men who actually signed the Constitution for the new State.

After moving from Wyoming to Colorado in 1897, his business connections in Denver included the position of secretary-treasurer of the Seeing Denver Company, from which he retired in about 1921.

He was a member of the Knights of Pythias fraternal order and of the Grand Army of the Republic. His church affiliation was the Episcopalian.

Surviving Mr. Jeffrey are two sons, John and Henry, and a daughter, Mrs. Sherley Moore, all of Denver.

JAMES ALBERT JOHNSTON was born on a farm near Dayton, Ohio, on December 7, 1840, attended public school for a few years, worked in a wagon factory in Cincinnati and in 1867 went to Cheyenne. From there, to Denver where he worked on a farm, soon joining a party bound for Texas to drive cattle to Colorado and Wyoming. He took up a homestead 12 miles south of Denver and in 1870 married Miss Melissa Drummond. By 1874 he had a family of three children.

In 1878 he became interested in mining at Leadville, and later in the building of large irrigation works which brought him in contact with Edwin S. Nettleton, State Engineer of Colorado.

Nettleton recommended Mr. Johnston to the Wyoming Development Company at Cheyenne, and in 1883 he left Colorado to become associated with this company. In 1887 he was elected to the Wyoming Territorial Legislature and introduced an important bill relating to the use of water and establishing the office of Territorial Engineer, which act became a law. He was influential in securing the appointment of Professor Elwood Mead as first State Engineer, and worked with Mr. Mead in drafting Constitutional provisions relative to use of water, and later, a code of water laws for the State of Wyoming, which was adopted, with little change, by the first State Legislature in 1891.

He served as superintendent of water division number one until 1896, also as the secretary of the State Board of Control, and engaged in a variety of enterprises. He and his

brother, E. S. Johnston, purchased a grocery business in Cheyenne which his brother gradually took over alone. In 1893 he went to Senora, Old Mexico to take charge of the construction of a large irrigation enterprise. Mrs. Johnston died suddenly there and he returned to Cheyenne, retiring from the work in Old Mexico to interest himself in the Stock Growers National Bank of Cheyenne.

In 1898 he married Anna Fox and moved to Denver to take charge of the office of Clay-Robinson Company. He remained in this work until 1914 when he retired and spent twenty-one years in California. At the age of 82 he and Mrs. Johnston completed a world's tour.

He never lost interest in Wyoming and the activities of the State Engineer's office. He died June 7, 1936, at the age of ninety-one years. His wife survives him.

ELLIOTT S. N. MORGAN was born in January, 1832, at Pittsburgh, and was educated in the schools of that city and New Castle, Pennsylvania. He died on April 20, 1894, at Cheyenne, Wyoming.

He entered business on his own account following two years experience as a clerk in his father's store. In 1860, he was married to Miss Laura Spiese of New Castle, Pa., and five children were born to the couple.

Before coming to Wyoming he had become prominent in politics in his own State, having served several terms in the Legislature of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, preceding his appointment as Secretary of Wyoming Territory by President Hays, on March 10, 1880. He was reappointed on March 31, 1884, by President Arthur.

Mr. Morgan served as Acting Governor of Wyoming, while Secretary, following the death of Governor William Hale on January 13, 1885, and until the appointment of Governor Francis E. Warren by President Arthur on February 27, 1885. At the time of Mr. Morgan's death at Cheyenne, newspaper records gave him credit with having also shared responsibilities with Governor Hale, who was handicapped by illness in the performance of his official duties.

Following his public service, Mr. Morgan began practice of the legal profession, being admitted to the bar in 1887. He also was a member of the editorial staff of the Livestock Journal.

He served as chairman of the legislative committee of the Constitutional Convention, and was a Republican at that time, but later changed to Populism.

He was a member of the Presbyterian church and of the Masonic Order.

CALEB PERRY ORGAN was born in Virginia, later moving with his parents to Missouri. He served in the Confederate Army as a Lieutenant in a Missouri regiment during the last years of the Civil War. After the close of the war, he started West, arriving in Cheyenne in 1867. He served as Depot Superintendent at Camp Carlin, when it was one of the principal supply depots for the Army in the West, and was located between Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell.

Later he entered the cattle business, and this was his chief interest until his death, at which time he still owned the Organ ranch about a mile southeast of Cheyenne. He was also interested in ranches in other parts of Wyoming, and in the hardware business at Buffalo and Douglas, being a member of the firm, Draper and Organ Hardware, at Cheyenne.

Mr. Organ was a charter member of the Cheyenne Club, which was the social center for cattlemen of Wyoming, serving as an officer of the Club for many years. He was twice elected to the Territorial Council. Was nominated for Congress by the Democratic Party and defeated by the late Joseph M. Carey. He also ran for Secretary of State, and was later appointed by President Grover Cleveland to the office of Receiver of the U. S. Land Office at Cheyenne.

He married Miss Kate Graham, a Cheyenne school teacher, and lived in the historic residence at 2201 Ferguson Street (Carey Ave.). Mr. Organ died July 28, 1898 at the age of 55 years, and was survived by his wife and a daughter, Katherine, who is today Mrs. Marsh Armstrong of Rawlins, Wyoming. Mrs. Organ passed away in 1938.

CHARLES N. POTTER was born in Cooperstown, New York, October 31, 1852. He was graduated from the Grand Rapids, Michigan, High School in 1870, and studied law at the University of Michigan, where he received the degree of L.L.B., in 1873. He practiced law in Grand Rapids until March, 1876, when he came to Cheyenne, and soon became a factor in the social, civic, political and legal life of the City and Territory.

He was City Attorney for Cheyenne from 1878 to 1881, and again in 1889. He was Prosecuting Attorney of Laramie County from 1881 to 1883, Attorney General of the State from 1891 to 1895, a member of the Cheyenne Board of Education from 1888 to 1897, and President of the Cheyenne Industrial Club. During his lifetime he was an active member of the Congregational Church, and several fraternal organizations.

Judge Potter was elected Justice of the Supreme Court of Wyoming in 1894, and re-elected in 1902, 1910, 1918, and 1926. His service of thirty-three years as a member of the Supreme Court and over twenty years as its Chief Justice, constituted a judicial career which, in its length and distinction, has few parallels. In the field of law in Wyoming, he was a pioneer who cleared away the brush, and set the legal guide posts for all time.

Judge Potter died at his home in Cheyenne on December 20, 1927, his life in this State covering a period of fifty-two years.

THOMAS R. REID was born on April 12, 1839, in London, England. While yet a young child and after the death of his father, he was taken by his mother to Australia where lived her two married daughters, with whom she and her son made their home.

He was educated in Australia and in England, and came to America from the latter country in 1867 to "fight Indians." He enlisted in the Second Regiment of the U. S. Army, Nebraska, for a period of five years, and after his discharge accepted employment with the Union Pacific Railroad, with whom he remained until retirement. He married Elizabeth Hunt Rodgers in 1877.

Mr. Reid's public service included the Cheyenne City Council in 1886, and the State Legislature. He passed away on June 16, 1917.

JOHN A. RINER was born in Preble County, Ohio, 1850. Studied law at the University of Michigan, graduating in 1879. Moved to Wyoming and was attorney for city of Cheyenne in 1881. He married Miss May Jillich in 1882, and they had four children, all of whom are now living. Was United States District Attorney for the Territory of Wyoming, 1884. Elected a member of the Upper House, Tenth Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, in 1886, being selected as president of that body during the session. Elected member of the Constitutional Convention in 1889 he took an active part in its deliberations, serving on the judiciary committee where his outstanding legal ability was of especial value. Elected member of the State Senate, 1890, but resigned before the legislature convened to accept appointment as United States District Judge for the District of Wyoming, commissioned September 23, 1890.

His work as a Judicial Officer was such as to receive the generous and hearty commendation not only of his associates

in the great 8th Circuit as then constituted, but also of the Bar and all who had business to transact in the Federal Court in Wyoming. He had a broad intellectuality, deep human sympathies and wide tolerance. Honor and integrity were synonymous with his name. No one enjoyed or merited more the respect, confidence and the high regard of the people of this commonwealth. He died March 4, 1923.

HUBERT E. TESCHEMACHER was born in Massachusetts in 1856, of a wealthy family and in 1879 came to Wyoming where he entered, prominently, into business and social life of the Territory, accumulating large holdings in the cattle business.

He was head of a firm operating as the Teschemacher and DeBillier Cattle Company, which included his brother, Arthur, and a number of local and eastern men, among whom was Theodore Roosevelt. The range was at Bridger's Ferry on the North Platte River.

Harry Ralston, of Cheyenne, was foreman of the outfit from March, 1884, until about 1893, as he recalls, and estimated that there were around 25,000 head of mixed cattle in the herds.

Mr. Teschemacher was a Harvard man, and during his residence in Cheyenne was president of the exclusive social group known as the old Cheyenne Club, and resided at the club-house, since razed and the site is now occupied by the Chamber of Commerce Building.

He served in both houses of the Territorial Legislature and was a member of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association. He was a Republican, and is among those whose name appears most frequently in the journal and debate records of the Constitutional Convention.

It is thought that he died in Boston, of pneumonia, in about the year 1906, and that his brother passed away in Switzerland several years earlier.

According to Cheyenne old-timers, the father of the two brothers was H. F. Teschemacher, a California forty-niner, who served as an early mayor of San Francisco.

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Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, and also numerous correspondents in this and other states, as well as newspaper clippings, files and personal interviews.

(To be concluded in the October issue, with biographies of delegates from the following counties: Carbon, Converse, Crook, Sheridan, Sweetwater and Uinta.)



Miss Louise S. Smith, 1889

MISS LOUISE S. SMITH, OFFICIAL STENOGRAPHER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Miss Smith, assistant cashier of the Stock Growers National Bank, Cheyenne, Wyoming, and active in Cheyenne business and social life the past half century, holds the distinction of having been the official stenographer for the Constitutional Convention in 1889. Appreciation of Miss Smith's skill in recording the proceedings was evidenced by the presentation of an exquisite gold pin by the Convention at its close.

In addition to her connection with the historical Convention, Miss Smith holds the unique position of being the Capital City's first stenographer, beginning her business career in 1886. One of her first positions was with the banking institution of which she is now an officer.

Miss Smith resides at 712 East Eighteenth Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

REMINISCENCES OF A MEMBER OF THE WYOMING CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

By W. E. Chaplin

In 1889 conditions seemed ripe for statehood. The buffalo had ceased to roam and the deer and the antelope were more wary in their play. The savage hostilities of Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, Chief Gall, Spotted Tail and Crazy Horse were in the past. The Indian was living peacefully on his reservation and the herds and flocks of the white man grazed on a thousand hills. The Union Pacific had for a score of years carried the traffic of the nation across our southern border and the Northwestern and the Burlington had penetrated the central and northern portions of the Territory. The population was not large—about 60,000—but it was intelligent, energetic and ambitious. Francis E. Warren, powerful in business and statesmanship, was Governor by the appointment of President Benjamin Harrison. Joseph M. Carey, lawyer, judge and able business man, was delegate in Congress. You could have scratched the Rockies with a fine-toothed comb and found no abler men. The people of Wyoming were tired of being governed by carpetbaggers. While the officials sent to us were generally good and able citizens, they were not of our choosing. We longed for statehood. Mr. Average Citizen desired to vote for those who controlled the state government and for the President of the United States. Bills had been introduced in both the Senate and House of Representatives providing for the admission of Wyoming. It was thought advisable to follow the provisions of the Senate Bill. The boards of commissioners in the several counties passed resolutions requesting the Governor, the Chief Justice and Secretary of the Territory to issue a call for a Constitutional Convention and to apportion the delegates among the counties. The basis of the apportionment was the vote on Delegate in Congress at the election of 1888. The number decided upon was 55. The selection of delegates was without regard to party. It was sought to obtain one fitted for the responsibility and of sterling character. A glance over the roster and a study of the occupations of the members in their after lives proves that nothing but the good of the people was sought. Almost every walk of life was represented.

The delegates assembled in the Supreme Court room of the Capitol Building, September 2, 1889. Temporary organization was effected without delay by the choosing of Henry S. Elliott of Johnson County as Temporary Chairman. Mr. Elliott is still living, his home being in the city of Seattle, Washington.

After the report of the Committee on Credentials had been read, forty-five members were sworn in. It is interesting to note that this is the exact number of signatures appended to the Constitution. The total number sworn in was finally forty-nine. That ancient and honorable Justice of the Peace, W. P. Carroll, administered the oath.

Melville C. Brown, able attorney of Albany County, was chosen permanent chairman. There was no particular struggle for the position. Laramie County, with eleven delegates, did not have a candidate for the position. It was suspected that bigger game was looked for in the future. J. K. Jeffrey of Laramie County was chosen Secretary. Permanent organization being perfected, the Convention at once entered into its important work. Louise Smith of Laramie County was selected for the position of stenographer. She is still living and through all the years has been a valued citizen of Cheyenne. Although at the time a very young woman, she performed her work with outstanding ability. The published report proves her worth.

It is not my purpose to review in any considerable detail the work of the Convention; time does not permit. Chairmen of committees were named by the President because of their peculiar fitness for the duties to be performed. If I were called upon to choose the article of the Constitution I believe of the highest value, I would name Article VIII, Irrigation and Water Rights. The Chairman of that Committee was James A. Johnston of Laramie County, an engineer of ability. Not long before the effort for statehood there had been imported into the Territory a young civil engineer to take the position of Territorial Engineer by the name of Elwood Mead. He owed the obtaining of this position to Mr. Johnston, who had known him favorably as a professor in the Agricultural College at Fort Collins. It was a hard fight for Mr. Johnston, because of Mead's youth, to get him appointed to the Wyoming position. This is the same Mead who became an outstanding world character and high authority upon irrigation and water rights. He directed the construction of the wonderful Hoover Dam that regulates the flow of the Colorado River. Mead and Johnston drew the article, only five sections in length, and then looked over the roll of the Convention for a man whom they considered capable of making an adequate argument in its favor. They decided upon Delegate Charles H. Burritt of Johnson County. Burritt was a young lawyer who had much experience in the adjudication of water rights. He entered into the work with a zest and made an argument for the measure as presented that was unanswerable. Many objections were raised by attorneys, but they were all answered satisfactorily. Under the terms of the proposed con-

stitutional provision, Wyoming was winning virgin ground. Riparian ownership of water was thrown in the discard, the state was given ownership of all waters within its borders. The citizen could only secure the right to use the water and to obtain that right he must put it to beneficial uses and continue to use it. He is not permitted to use the water of a stream if the use interferes with a prior appropriator below or above. In other words, the first man to take out a permit has the better right.

Another change from the then general practice was the division of the state into four water districts and the appointment of district commissioners. The four district commissioners, together with the State Engineer, were to constitute a Board of Control, to which appeals could be made from the District Commissioners. This, some believed, would provide too much interference with the functions of the Courts. However, all opposition was overcome and the article went into the Constitution with slight amendment. It has worked quite well for a period of fifty years. Wyoming has the distinguished honor of having pioneered in irrigation and water right law.

Suffrage brought forth extended and on one occasion acrimonious debate. There was little opposition to woman suffrage. It had been tried out in the Territory for twenty years and had proved satisfactory. Long speeches had been prepared by some who were looking forward to political preferment, and it had seemed probable that they would be disappointed, but a motion by Mr. Campbell of Laramie County afforded the opportunity of oratory. He moved to amend the first section by making it a separate article to be submitted separately and voted on separately by the people. In his argument, Mr. Campbell stated that he was in favor of woman suffrage, but that he had been requested to make this motion in order that the question might be tested at the polls. There had been a time in his life when he was in opposition, but that time had passed. His observations since coming to Wyoming had convinced him that the women should have the privilege of voting. While in Omaha some years before, he had heard an argument between Phoebe Cozzins and a bright young lawyer of that city in which the young man had stated that woman suffrage had been a failure in Wyoming. He said that throughout the length and breadth of the nation you could not find a more lawless condition of things than at Rawlins, Laramie and Cheyenne. Campbell had taken that statement as true until he had made a personal investigation and found it absolutely false. He had seen several elections conducted in Wyoming and always in the most orderly manner. However, while the tendency of universal suffrage was for the best, there had never been a vote

upon the matter and he believed that those who wished that it be submitted separately ought to have the opportunity to vote upon it independent of the balance of the Constitution.

A storm broke loose. Mr. Holden of Uinta County would prefer to remain a territory during all the endless cycles of time to having this question submitted separately. Mr. Baxter, who had sponsored the woman suffrage clause from the first, made a very clear and forceful argument against the motion. Mr. Coffeen of Sheridan County, in a lurid speech, challenged Mr. Campbell's motives and aroused the ire of that gentleman. As white as a sheet, Mr. Campbell arose and shouted, "Any man who impugns my motives on the floor of this Convention lies, away down in the bottom of his old throat." There was much confusion, but Mr. Coffeen was a peace-loving citizen and a personal encounter was avoided. After some discussion it was decided to expunge the incident from the record. Perhaps, I should have made no reference to it at this time, but it was the only real fireworks of a somewhat prosy convention and created a lot of genuine amusement. Miss Smith, who took the stenographic report of the convention, will attest the accuracy of my comments at this late date.

Former Governor John W. Hoyt of Albany County, made an excellent address favoring suffrage for women and in opposition to the Campbell motion. He said he had not believed it would be necessary to make extended argument on the subject and yet went away back into the dark ages and discussed the manner in which women had been treated long before Christ came to bring peace on earth. Governor Hoyt was a candidate for the United States Senate. President Brown made an argument for woman suffrage that was excellent in detail. He also was a candidate for the United States Senate. A few other forward-looking members took the occasion to endear themselves to the lady voters. The only member who came out flat-footed in opposition to woman suffrage was Mr. Palmer of Sweetwater County.

Mr. Campbell's motion was defeated by a vote of 20 to 8, and woman suffrage stood with the remainder of the Constitution. In future discussions of the Constitution it never appeared to prove a handicap.

There were some other matters pertaining to suffrage that aroused considerable debate. There was an insistent demand for an educational test and yet it was not desired that those already qualified to vote should be deprived of the franchise. It was finally decided to require voters to be able to read the constitution, excepting those who had already enjoyed the privilege.

The committee having education in charge was headed by

President Hoyt of the University. He it was who drafted the Territorial Statute Law founding and governing that institution. He had been its President for more than two years and was qualified theoretically and practically to write the article that was to control the educational system of the new State. He carried into the Constitution the chief provisions of the Territorial Law. The establishment of the University with all of its departments was confirmed. A single consolidated institution was contemplated. The various necessary colleges were to be under one central control. It was provided that school income should be distributed among the several counties in proportion to the number of children of school age, and it was further required that no school money should be used in the support of private or sectarian schools. The work of this committee was so well performed that there was little debate upon its report in committee of the whole. As I recall, there was no opposition to the work of the committee.

Article V, the Judicial Department, caused a great deal of discussion. It afforded the lawyers of the Convention ample opportunity to exploit their legal erudition. Wyoming Territory had been getting along with three Federal Judges, acting both as District Judges and Supreme Justices. The people had become used to the system and many favored a continuance of something along the same order. By the time the finished report of the committee had reached the committee of the whole, the subject had been pretty well threshed out and a majority of the Convention favored a separate Supreme Court. Judge Potter had been with this majority, but constant rumor and pressure from the outside demanding economy caused him to yield to the point of submitting an amendment providing for a consolidated Supreme Court for a period of six years, to consist of four judges, one of whom was to step aside when decisions rendered by him were being acted upon. This amendment was very ably argued by the best lawyers in the body. Mr. John A. Riner of Laramie County disagreed most decidedly with Mr. Potter, his stand being that if the people of Wyoming did not care to adopt a constitution providing for the right kind of a government, then it would be better to remain as a territory till they changed their minds. The stand taken by Judge Riner proved to be the will of the majority, the final vote upon the rejection of the Potter amendment being 21 to 17. The question of salaries for the judges caused a good deal of comment. It was finally left to the legislature.

Times were not so good in 1889 and a wave of economy was upon the land. The Convention went into the matter of salaries of public officers with a heavy hand. It really went far beyond

the usual requirements of constitutional law and legislated. There has been much criticism of this portion of the convention's work, but in its defense it can be said that the people were saved a great deal of money thereby.

Public indebtedness was handled without mercy. The State was required to limit its indebtedness to one per cent, except to suppress insurrection or provide for the public expense. Officials were limited to their budgets. Counties were limited to two per cent in the creation of indebtedness. An exception was made governing sewage systems and water works.

Hours of labor on public works were restricted to eight and none but citizens or those who had declared their intention to become such was permitted to be employed.

The fact that the Constitution has operated successfully for a period of fifty years is ample proof of its value. Amendments have been few.

It may be of interest to those interested in the history of the Constitutional Convention to review briefly the lives of some of the more important members.

Judge Melville C. Brown, President of the Convention, was born in Maine in 1838. His first location in the west was in Idaho. He came to Wyoming about the time of the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, locating at Laramie. He was, without much delay, elected to the position of Mayor, but resigned in a few weeks. He was soon wed to the beautiful Nancy Fillmore, daughter of the Superintendent of the Wyoming Division of the Union Pacific. They were a handsome couple. She made of his home a sweet haven of rest and contentment. He took high rank in the practice of law and at one time was Federal Attorney for the District of Wyoming. In later years he was again elected Mayor of Laramie. At times, Judge Brown had a temper that was hard to control. In the heat of passion his tongue was vitriolic. On one occasion he lambasted the Justices of the Supreme Court with such venomous language that the court took judicial notice and debarred him from practice for a considerable period. President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to the position of Judge of Alaska, which he filled for about five years. In that position he was the subject of many criticisms and Rex Beach's novel, "The Spoilers," was based upon some of the actions of the court. After his service in Alaska, Judge Brown returned to Laramie and resumed the practice of law. He did not step into the good practice he laid down, but with the added emoluments of Justice of the Peace he kept the pot boiling. He died in 1928.

John W. Hoyt came to Wyoming as Territorial Governor, through the appointment of President Hayes, in the spring of

1878. He was a talented man; had studied medicine and was an M. D.; he had also studied law. He edited a paper in Wisconsin for a number of years. He had occupied many other positions of trust. After ably serving the Territory as Governor he became the manager of the Wheatland Development Company. He framed the law which created the University of Wyoming and carried its excellent provisions into the State Constitution. He was the first President of the University. He published a paper at Laramie for a brief period, but it was not a success financially. He spent his afternoon of life in the city of Washington, where he died in 1912.

James A. Johnston was the oldest brother of five Johnstons who made history in Wyoming. In Colorado, where he resided for a time, he became acquainted with Elwood Mead, one of the most capable engineers of his day. He persuaded Governor Moonlight to appoint Mead Territorial Engineer. In the Constitutional Convention, Johnston was the Chairman of the Committee on Irrigation, and in collaboration with Mead and Burritt formulated Wyoming's excellent law upon the subject. In after years he became interested in banking and for a long time was manager of the live stock commission office of Clay, Robinson & Co., of Denver, Colorado. Upon his retirement he located in California, at Los Angeles, where he died a few years ago.

Charles H. Burritt of Johnson County came to Wyoming in the early eighties and married an Albany County girl named Wheeler. They were married at Laramie and shortly thereafter settled in Buffalo, which had but recently been made a county seat. He practiced law successfully there until 1898, when he went to the Philippines as an officer in the Spanish-American War. He remained abroad for several years. Upon his return to the United States, he settled in Reno, Nevada, where he practiced his profession until his death in 1927.

Clarence D. Clark of Uinta County grew to manhood in the State of Iowa. He was a good story-teller and was fond of relating his experience in trying to get a job as brakeman on a railroad. He applied to the trainmaster for work. The trainmaster looked him over and said: "Young man, you would not make a brakeman in a thousand years. It takes brains to make a railroad man." He taught school and studied law. In Evanston he had a good practice and was very popular among the people. He was elected Congressman at the first State election. At the second State election he was defeated by Coffeen. In 1895, he was elected to the United States Senate and had the good fortune to receive the salary of \$10,000, that would have been paid to a Senator

had we elected one for the two preceding years. He served in the Senate until 1916, when he was defeated by John B. Kendrick. He was Chairman of the Committee on Railroads and Committee on Judiciary for the greater portion of his service in the Senate. On his retirement from that body he was made a member of the Canadian Boundary Commission.

Jesse Knight of Uinta County became Judge of the Third Judicial District and thereafter Justice of the Supreme Court. He probably had as large a personal following as any man in the State. He would stick to a friend through thick and thin. His slaps at enemies were rather cutting. He died while a member of the High Court in 1905.

George W. Baxter was a native of North Carolina; was reared and educated in Tennessee and West Point. Soon after graduating from West Point, he resigned from the army and engaged in the cattle business, at the head of the Union Cattle Company. This company owned some 30,000 acres of land southeast of Cheyenne, purchased from the Union Pacific Railroad. This land was enclosed and the alternate sections were government land. This condition prevailed when President Cleveland appointed Mr. Baxter to the position of Territorial Governor. Cleveland soon learned of the condition of affairs and removed Governor Baxter summarily. Governor Baxter was a handsome man, a true southern gentleman. In the Constitutional Convention, he espoused the cause of woman suffrage and made a good argument for the ladies. He ran for Governor in the first state election, being defeated by Francis E. Warren. In a few years the large tract of land owned by the Union Cattle Company was sold, and Governor Baxter left the State. He died a few years ago.

From start to finish Charles N. Potter took a lively hand in the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. He was particularly valuable in matters pertaining to the judiciary. He was educated in law at Ann Arbor and came to Cheyenne in the early eighties. He held many positions of trust during Territorial days. He favored a separate Supreme Court, but was willing to yield if it was found that a majority was against him. He introduced an amendment to that effect, but it was defeated. He was elected to the Supreme Court in 1894 and served as a member of that body during the remainder of his life.

John A. Riner was of that class of young men who earned their way through college. At Ann Arbor, he did chores of various kinds to help win his way financially. He said to me once, "I wonder if Judge Carpenter remembers when I used to carry coal and kindling up to his room at Ann Arbor."

Carpenter was at that time Judge of the Second Judicial District, and Riner was United States Judge for the District of Wyoming, having been appointed to that position when Wyoming was admitted as a State. As a judge he made a fine record. He retired in 1921 and did not live long thereafter. The State has had no better citizen.

✓ Morris C. Barrow of Converse County came to Wyoming from southeastern Nebraska in the late seventies. He had edited a newspaper in the town of Tecumseh. His advent in Wyoming was through the railway mail service, his run being from Sidney to Laramie. He got into trouble with the government, but was acquitted by a jury of his peers. He became city editor of the Laramie Daily Times and when the Boomerang was started in 1881 he became a compositor on that paper, thereafter obtaining the position of city editor. From that position he went to Rawlins, where he edited a paper for about two years. When the Northwestern Railroad built into central Wyoming he established Bill Barlew's Budget at Douglas, which he conducted till the date of his death, in 1910. He also published a monthly publication, "Sage Brush Philosophy." He was Receiver of the United States Land Office at Douglas for several years.

If I were called upon to pick out the most useful member of the Convention I would name Henry G. Hay. He got the necessary money to pay for the things that had to be obtained before Congress could pass an appropriation. In other ways he served the Convention well. He was manager of the Stock Growers National Bank, Cheyenne. In after years he became treasurer of the United States Steel Corporation and died in the east.

Henry S. Elliott of Johnson County took a prominent part. He was the temporary chairman. He married a girl who was a member of a family by the name of Erhart who were Albany County pioneers and who located in Buffalo in the seventies. He now resides in Seattle, where he is a United States Commissioner. He is one of the two living members of the Convention.

Henry A. Coffeen of Sheridan County was on the floor perhaps more than any other member. As he was the only delegate from Sheridan perhaps this was justified. He came from Illinois to Wyoming. He took great interest in Theosophy and at one time had Madame Besant deliver a lecture in Sheridan. Among his literary efforts he wrote a Life of Christ.

EARLY HISTORY OF CHEYENNE "FRONTIER DAYS" SHOW

By Robert D. Hanesworth*

FOREWORD

Because of the comparative accuracy of facts recorded at the time of their happening, the major portion of the material assembled for this historical resume of Wyoming Frontier Days Show has been gleaned from the newspapers, authentic registers of events as they take place. Some of the vivid descriptions by the inspired newswriters of those exciting days have been quoted verbatim, in order that a bit of the color, glamor and thrill of the spectacular beginnings of an institution which has developed into a magnificent Western Tradition, might be conveyed to the readers of this discourse.—R. D. H.

Conceived early in August, 1897, Cheyenne Frontier Days has grown until today it is recognized the country over as the "World's Greatest Outdoor Show." Of its origination, Warren Richardson, chairman of the first committee, says, "The Frontier Days baby was born on the train between Cheyenne and Greeley, Colorado, during the summer of 1897. It was customary then as it still is for the natives of Greeley to celebrate what was known as 'Potato Day.' It was on one of these occasions that Colonel E. A. Slack, his wife, my mother and myself, had gone to Greeley together. Upon our return from the celebration while on the train, the Colonel said to me, 'Why cannot Cheyenne have some such celebration once a year?' I said, 'I did not think it possible as we did not raise much of anything in Cheyenne, except hell, and I did not quite see how we could pull off such a show.' It was

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—Robert D. Hanesworth has been secretary of the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce since March 1, 1924, and secretary of the Cheyenne Frontier Days Committee since 1926.

He was born on March 30, 1898, at Cheyenne, Wyoming. A son of Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Hanesworth, he was educated in this State and was graduated from the Cheyenne High School with the class of 1913. He received the degree of bachelor of science in electrical engineering from the University of Wyoming, at Laramie, with the class of 1917.

Mr. Hanesworth attended the First Officers Training Camp at the Presidio, San Francisco, California in 1917, where he received the commission of Second Lieutenant in Coast Artillery. He was promoted to First Lieutenant in September of 1918, served six months with the American Expeditionary Forces in France, returned to the United States and was discharged on March 3, 1919.

His talents and energies have been devoted generously to numerous civic activities, including the Boy Scouts of America and the American Legion, in addition to the quantity of detail in connection with his regular work with the Chamber of Commerce, and Frontier Days, "The World's Greatest Outdoor Show."

at this point that Colonel Slack's fertile mind developed the idea of Frontier Days. Said he, 'Let's get up an old times day of some sort, we will call it Frontier Day. We will get all the old timers together, and have the remnant of the cow punchers come in with a bunch of wild horses, get out the old stage coaches, and some Indians, etc., and we will have a lively time of it.' The Colonel started the idea working in the next issue of his paper."

As the years have passed by there has been some difference of opinion as to who suggested a "Wild West" celebration and the name "Frontier Days." After reading all obtainable information in the 1897 files of local newspapers, it seems to me that both Mr. F. W. Angier, passenger agent of the Union Pacific, and Mr. E. A. Slack, editor of the Daily Sun Leader, were instrumental in suggesting "Frontier Days," and probably should be given credit jointly. The August 28, 1901 issue of the Cheyenne Leader, under the heading "History of Frontier Days," says in part "The Union Pacific Agent, Mr. Angier, came to the Leader Office, and after mentioning the various celebrations, asked us to suggest something for Cheyenne. Going over the list, it was quite evident that Wyoming could not hope to excel in any of the features then in vogue, so casting about to see what new thing there was that would attract the people in and outside of its state, we suggested cowboy exploits, and if possible the procurement of a band of Indians. This met the approval of Mr. Angier, . . . and he left in a hopeful train of thought."

The word "WE" in the above quotation indicated that the Daily Sun Leader and Mr. Slack in particular, was the originator of Frontier Days.

Warren Richardson also gives Col. E. A. Slack, then editor of the Daily Sun Leader, credit for Frontier Days. He says, "The man who was the father of Frontier Days, who originated the idea, who developed the sentiment that resulted in its complete success, and who, for the first few years of its infancy, stood by it through thick and thin, when it was attacked as a 'rough neck show and should not be permitted,' and who, as long as he lived, was the greatest power behind the show, both with his mighty intellect, through the columns of his newspaper, and with his money when it was necessary, was Colonel E. A. Slack."

But later, Mr. Angier on August 23, 1911, wrote a letter to the Sun Leader, referring to a history of Frontier Days appearing a week previous in his newspaper giving E. A. Slack credit for starting the show. He states that he (Mr. Angier) went to Cheyenne and laid his plans before Colonel

Slack who at once said, "It is all right and I am with you." The Sun Leader of even date in an editorial says, "The Leader's Frontier Days history of a week ago is, as Mr. Angier states, erroneous. The idea of a carnival with wild western sports for Cheyenne was originated by Mr. Angier, then traveling passenger agent for the Union Pacific at Denver, and a great deal of the subsequent advertising which the show received was due to his remarkable energy."

Be that as it may, the undisputed fact remains that on August 30, 1897, Mayor Wm. R. Schnitger called a meeting of representative business men at the office of Riner and Schnitger to discuss the suggestion of Frontier Days, at which time a committee was appointed to solicit funds and arrange for the celebration. This committee was Warren Richardson, chairman, Edward A. Slack, J. A. Martin, E. W. Stone, J. H. Arp, G. R. Palmer, D. H. Holiday, John L. Murray and Clarence B. Richardson.

Chairman Warren Richardson donated the "elegant front room of the Tivoli Cafe, upstairs, for the use of the committee." This room is above the Tivoli Saloon where Sam Marchick is now located.

An elaborate description of that first celebration appeared in the Sun Leader of Sept. 23, 1897, under the heading "The First Frontier Days" which declared, in part, "No more perfect day in every respect could have been designated by Providence for the first Annual Celebration of Frontier Days in Cheyenne. Incoming trains during the night and the trains from the south and east this morning brought hundreds of visitors to our city, but the largest number, as might well be expected, arrived on the excursion train from Denver, which arrived in the city about noon. On this train, also, came the Greeley band, which discoursed fine music at the depot before dinner.

"The appearance of the city indicated a grand holiday, the stars and stripes and bunting adorned business houses, and on all sides were seen Frontier badges and everyone seemed out for a celebration with a seeming inspiration.

"The commencement of the grand festivities of the occasion was made manifest at 12 o'clock by the firing of cannon by battery A, by the ringing of all the bells in the city, by the blowing of the railroad whistles and also the whistles of every plant in the city. Hundreds of citizens fired shotguns, rifles, pistols and the combined noise was deafening in the extreme.

"At 12:30 o'clock the citizens began to repair to the fair grounds. The committee had announced that the pro-

gram was long and must commence at 1 o'clock, sharp. The Union Pacific ran trains from the depot to the fair grounds at 1, 2, and 3 o'clock. It is estimated that the number of visitors to our city was at least 3,000. The citizens of the city turned out in full force and the fair grounds never were so full of people.

“On the grounds the guests could obtain any kind of liquor or solid refreshments. The track had been worked on for days and was in good condition for horse racing.

“Around the stables were the racing horses and their owners and riders. Bucking bronchos, cow ponies, bulls, steers and oxen were everywhere in evidence.

“The following was the revised order of the exercises:

- No. 1. Cow pony race, quarter mile.
- No. 2. Free for all, half mile.
- No. 3. Cow pony heat race (2 in 3).
- No. 4. Pony Express. Event sham battle by the U. S. Troops.
- No. 5. Stake race, 250 yards, time race.
- No. 6. Wild horse race, half mile.
- No. 7. Cow pony race, second heat and to close.
- No. 8. Pitching and bucking horses.
- No. 9. Free for all, one mile.

Event—Scene on the Overland Trail—ox train—stage holdup, vigilantes, etc.

“The first event was a cow pony race, quarter mile, purse \$20; 5 per cent to enter.

“Starter McDermott not having appeared, the races were started by Mr. R. S. Van Tassell.

“The second event, the free for all half mile, excited a great deal of attention. The first race was greatly delayed on account of the slowness of the riders to materialize. After the first race, the other events were rushed. The bands were delayed in town on account of missing the trains, but arrived at this time. (Access to Park by train.) It was two o'clock when the second race was called.

“At this time the soldiers from Fort Russell marched into the fair grounds in grand military style under the generalship of Capt. Pitcher and aided by the officers as published in the Sun Leader last night. The soldiers pitched tents in military style and their maneuvers were immensely enjoyed. At this time the Sioux Indians, under Chief Chile, gave a fine war dance in the old time Indian fashion. This was received by loud applause from the grand stand.

“When the time came for the third event, the fair grounds looked like an immense city. The people had turned out in thousands and the half mile track was completely lined up. The grand stand was absolutely packed so tightly

it was impossible to get one more person in. The crowd was even larger than any one had imagined, and still more visitors. The total number of visitors can be estimated reasonably at 4,000 people.

"The sham battle was the next thing on the program and one of the most exciting events of the day. This was brilliantly conducted by the dashing Captain Pitcher. The bugle sounded and the battalion was called to the open space inside the half mile track. The battle was viewed with the greatest of interest by the thousands of visitors, many of whom had never viewed a similar scene. The excitement accompanying the discharge of a number of guns fired as if at an enemy inspired many to intense excitement. The battle was brilliantly conducted, the soldiers showing much skill in the many maneuvers.

"The sixth event was the wild horse race, distance one-half mile, purse \$75; this was the first race of the kind ever pulled off at the fair grounds.

"The seventh event was the cowpony stake race, 250 yards, purse \$25. 5 per cent to enter.

"A great deal of excitement was occasioned by the runaway of a black cow horse. A number of cowboys struck out after it and another scene of old-time life was revived.

"The eighth event was pitching and bucking horses. This was the event of the day. The wild horses were brought on the track barely halter broken and every rider rode a strange horse. Some of them were very wild and could hardly be kept in the track limits, although the best riders in the west had them under control. The scene of the wildest kind of horses raving and jumping and attempting to jump the fence kept the crowd at distance and presented a thrilling scene. Some of the riders showed the greatest of skill and it is regretted that space does not allow for individual mention of the expert riding. This event was pronounced by old timers as equal to anything they ever witnessed and the crowd went wild over it. Horses jumped fences, men were knocked down and thought killed. The scene was thrilling and we are happy to chronicle that no one was hurt, though many were knocked down. The scene of the overland train was realistic in the extreme. Freight wagons bedecked in old time style, genuine old time stages used thirty years ago. The old oxen and bull teams were prominent and vigilantes were immense.

"The stage coach event was next. Chairman Richardson, Secretary Martin, R. S. Van Tassell, L. Kabis, Mr. McUlvan

and a number of other citizens rode on the stage, which was pulled by six swift horses and driven by Dave Creath."

The First Frontier committee had at least one task that does not confront the 1940 committee for the Wyoming Tribune of September 22, 1897, says, "The Frontier Days Committee will arrange to have all ash cans, dry goods boxes, barrels, etc., which now occupy conspicuous places on the sidewalks in the business section of the city, temporarily removed and gotten out of sight for Wyoming's first celebration of Frontier Days."

In describing the attendance of this show, the Wyoming Tribune says, "To the east and west of the grandstand, on both sides of the track, for a distance of 300 yards the people were packed so that standing room was at a premium, and hundreds more occupied the more favored places around the track and in the open or inside. The grandstand was congested with pent up enthusiasm and people. If there had been seating room for 500 more it would have been occupied, no matter what the cost."

One of the writer's very early recollections is that of standing along the outside rail of the track fence together with hundreds of others. Practically everyone carried umbrellas to protect against the rain or for shade. Whenever a steer or brone came towards the fence, all umbrellas were immediately raised and pointed toward the animal to turn him in another direction and it usually did.

Apparently the two newspapers of that period took delight in presenting opposing views, for while the Daily Sun Leader praises the celebration in superlatives, the Wyoming Tribune declares, "There are some features of such a program that do not meet with the approbation of all. . . . Our visitors know that the stage hold-up, the vigilantes and the ox team departed our boundaries a generation ago.

"The influence of Frontier Days is not elevating in character, but is it harmful to any extent? We think not, and yet suggest that next year a more varied program be gotten up. . . ."

"One thing impressed the observer more than all the rest combined and that was the absolute incapacity shown to handle the crowds. It is a curious and inexplicable thing, the unaccountable desire of dozens of ladies to stand on the race track, totally oblivious to the extreme novelty and danger of their position, and, while it was a relief to see them grab their petticoats and safely get away from the deadly feet of wild and crazy broncs, the spectacle was not edifying, and should be dispensed with next year."

It is rather interesting to review the list of contributors to the first show, many of whom are still in the harness today in civic work. H. P. Hynds, recently deceased, leads the list, others are E. A. Logan, Miss Louise Smith, Max Meyer, Arp & Hammond Hardware Co., F. A. Meanea Co., Stock Growers National Bank, C. W. Hirsig, Union Mercantile Co., J. W. Lacey, Idelman Bros., Dinneen Bros., Pitt Covert, J. M. Carey Bros., F. E. Warren Mercantile Co., G. Kingham, A. E. Roedel, Richardson Brothers, Lem Ellis, Hofmann Bros., Dr. Conway, Palace Pharmacy, Percy Smith and D. W. Gill. A rather interesting item to those of us who knew Sam Bergman, a man who made considerable money in the second-hand business where Louie Wax was later located, is the listing of his contribution of 25c.

In 1898 we find that the following committee was appointed to arrange for the second Frontier Days Celebration: John L. Murray, chairman, Stephen Bon, treasurer, J. A. Breekons, secretary, Daniel McUlvan, Pitt Covert, Maurice Dinneen and Morris Wasserman. This committee decided that two days would be necessary to successfully stage this event and set the date for Sept. 5 and 6, Monday and Tuesday.

The second Frontier committee decided to ask for a great deal of assistance, and appointed the following sub-committees: Election and Wedding; Indian Dances and Ceremonies; Stage Coach and Emigrant Events; Pony Express; Roping Steers; Dog and Hare Coursing contest; Music Committee; for press representatives; City Officials, State Officials, Corner Stone Laying and Pioneer Picnic. Our loyal friend and supporter, Max J. Meyer, was announcer at this show.

The Daily Sun Leader, under the caption "Our Second Celebration," says in part: "The Second Annual Frontier Celebration has eclipsed any previous one in the history of Cheyenne. It has been made up of a combination and rapid succession of the most exciting and picturesque events recalling an ideal period of early Frontier Days.

"Since early yesterday morning, teams have been coming into the city, bringing people from the country by the hundreds, from distances of fifty to seventy-five miles. Every incoming train has been loaded down with passengers, over 2500 coming from Colorado points.

"The ceremonies of the day opened with a monster parade which started immediately after the arrival of the last special train from Colorado.

"The parade was formed of four divisions, the first being Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. This was lead by Colonel Cedy, riding in an open carriage with Governor W. A. Rich-

ards seated by him. Following the carriage came twenty Sioux Indians mounted and dressed in typical Indian costume. Then came a company of German Uhlan's in a white uniform of their rank. Following were bands of Arabs, Turks, and Cheyenne Indians, all magnificently mounted. Then came a party of cowgirls, and following these were a band of Indians, followed by a mounted cowboy brass band. Following these came a squadron of the 6th U. S. Cavalry, then a company of Cubans, then some Mexican riders, more Indians and a squadron of British lancers. Following these was the old Overland Pioneer Coach, with an escort of cowboys. Following were Indians, the division closing with the A battery of the U. S. Artillery.

"The second division of the parade consisted of Cheyenne Fire Department, 200 strong, with its apparatus handsomely decorated with flags and flowers, making a splendid exhibition of the superb volunteer fire department in the U. S. Following them came the labor organizations of the city, the machinists, boiler makers being particularly noticeable on account of their handsome suits. This division was led by the Cheyenne City Band.

"The third division, led by the Eaton band, had for its feature the magnificent float of the directors of the Festival of Mountain and Plain of Denver. The float was drawn by six black horses, and was applauded by the crowds along the entire route. It was entitled "Neptune and the Seas."

"A number of Cheyenne merchants had handsome floats.

"Next came the beautiful cereal floats of the Wyoming Development Company exhibiting productions of the Wheatland Colony. Clark, the Cheyenne taxidermist's float of stuffed animals and rare skins, was perhaps the most unique and elaborate in the parade.

"The big Sweickert Hardware Co. was here represented by four handsome floats displaying their ware. Manewal's Bakery float attracted great attention. Charles Erswell followed in a boat float made of canvas and propelled by a bicycle. The float was pure white, twenty feet long and was a perfect counterpart of a smack in the sea. It evoked all the patriotic enthusiasm of the crowd.

"Next came the Phil Zang mammoth beer-keg float, the keg being ten feet in diameter. The Wyo. Cycle Co. had a notable display on a float. E. S. Johnston, the big grocer, had two grand floats, one of them being a moving grocery, the other a negro and watermelon, Saturnalia, where real happiness reigned supreme.

"Next came the Messick Dry Goods Company's hack filled with the most beautiful women in silks and satins. Major Talbot, the finest specimen of the frontier cavalry man now extinct, was knight errant on a beautiful charger.

"Then came out thirty weather beaten, travel stained prairie schooners with their "Pikes Peak or Bust" outfits, the motive power being horses, cattle, asses, etc., in all imaginable variety in way of hitching them on.

"The fourth division headed by the Loveland Band, represented the distinctive features of the day.

"A number of the old time visitors to the city rode in the pioneer coach which formerly ran between this city and Deadwood. The coach was drawn by six horses, driven by George Lathrop, a stage driver of thirty years' experience on the plains. Following the pioneer coach came a genuine emigrant train, consisting of twenty emigrant wagons, halted on their way across the plains to take part in the celebration. Following the emigrants were bands of Shoshoni and Arapahoe Indians, led by Chiefs William Shakespeare and Dick Washakie. The parade closed with a band of cowboy riders, mounted on fine specimens of bronchos.

"The parade in its entirety was pronounced the most unique and successful ever seen in the west.

"The events in the afternoon proved as exciting and interesting as those in the morning. Promptly after the parade ended, the doors of Buffalo Bill's wild west were opened and over 6,000 people witnessed the performance, which was a revelation to the westerners, who, accustomed as they are to seeing exhibitions of fine horsemanship, were astonished and delighted at the magnificent riding of the cowboys, Indians, Arabs, Cossacks, and cavalrymen forming the world's congress of riders.

"The dog and hare coursing events were a novel and interesting feature, out of the four events run. The hares were invariably run down within a radius of 250 yards.

"The day's sport passed with but two accidents, a rider in one of the running races and rider in the wild horse race being thrown, one of them being rather seriously injured.

"The following program was pulled off this afternoon at the fair grounds:

1. Running race, one mile, free for all.
2. Trotting race.
3. Representation of first election in Wyoming.
4. Running race, one-quarter mile, free for all.
5. Pony express, under the direction of Chas. Hirsig.
6. Bucking and pitching contest. Purses for the worst horse and the best rider.
7. Novelty race for Wyoming horses.
8. Roping wild steers.

9. Dog and hare coursing.
10. Emigrant train attacked by Indians, rescued by cowboys.
11. Livery wagon race, one-half mile.
12. Stage coach hold-up by road agents.
13. Cowpony race, one mile 'catch weights.' "

Interesting sidelights on the show were scattered throughout that particular newspaper: "The fine steers used in the roping contest were purchased by the committee for \$40, and were sold today for \$32.50."

"In the dog and hare coursing contest there was no decision. All the dogs on the ground joined in the chase."

"The delivery wagon race was won by L. R. Bresnahan, Dinneen Bros. second."

"Frontier Days has become a permanent institution in Wyoming. It has come to stay. Those who had doubts are now fully persuaded. The skeptical man is no longer to be found."

A choice bit of poetry was thrown in for good measure:

"With Spirits Gay in Frontier Day
I came with all my dough;
In bed I lay, I'm not so gay,
My head is swelled, you know."

In his report on the second celebration, Sec'y Joe Breckons, recorded total receipts of \$2,910.26 as follows:

From former committee	\$ 134.31
Concessions	351.05
Subscriptions	1,351.50
Entry fees	92.40
Sale of grandstand seats.....	1,017.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,910.26

The committee turned a balance of \$2,612 over to the succeeding committee. The newspaper account of the meeting at which the above report was submitted, says "The Cheyenne Club entertained last year's (1897) and this year's (1898) Frontier committees. The discussion of Frontier work was extremely entertaining, as were the humorous anecdotes related. Last year's committee is sensitive on one point, and that is reference to those ice cream suits which the members wore on the last day of the celebration, when, as it will be remembered, the thermometer went down to 10 degrees below zero. But the old committee, with its charitable and Christian spirit, presented the suits to the new committee and a resolution was passed that they wear them (the old committee had a majority at dinner)."

August 23 and 24, 1899, were the dates set for the observance of the third annual Frontier Celebration. The following comprised the 3rd committee: E. W. Stone, W. E. Dinneen, Frank Roedel, R. W. Breckons, Alex Nimmo, Ed. F. Stahle, C. W. Riner, Warren Richardson, and W. F. Daiber.

Frontier Wedding and Bridesmaids' Ball Highlight Second Show

A new "Social Feature" as the Sun Leader calls it, was added to the 1898 program. This feature was a Frontier Wedding. Newspapers in 23 cities of Wyoming and Colorado sponsored contests for the election of bridesmaids to represent their respective communities. The election was by coupons printed in each edition of the newspaper, the girl receiving the greatest number being elected, and was sent to Cheyenne as the guest of the Frontier Committee. Prominent Cheyenne families entertained these young ladies while in Cheyenne.

Shortly after the announcement of the contemplated wedding, an application was received which is quoted from the Sun Leader of July 27, 1899, as follows:

"Having just read your advertisement in the Denver Post, I hasten to apply for the honor of being married on Frontier Days at Cheyenne. I am a young man, 24 yrs. old. The young lady is 18 and handsome too. As we are desirous of getting married on the 23rd of August as that is the young lady's birthday, I sincerely hope and pray that you will do us the honor and make us both happy for life by letting us be the bride and bridegroom on this occasion. . . . Mr. Secretary if our prospects are bright let me know at the earliest opportunity so that we may know what to do."

One of the newspapers informed its readers that "all day yesterday and today people from the surrounding country have been driving into the city prepared to take in the big show. Cowboys, bunches of wild horses have crowded the barns and corrals as they have not been since the days when Cheyenne was the gateway to the Famous Black Hills region to the north. Emigrants traveling across the country and hearing of the Frontier Days celebration have pulled here with their wagons and there is quite an encampment of these schooners of the prairie at the Fair Grounds."

For the 3rd Frontier Days celebration the following program was given:

1. Half mile cowpony race.
2. Running free for all.
3. Exhibition by Cavalry from Ft. Russell.
4. Pioneer wedding.
5. Bucking and pitching contest.
6. Indian pony race.
7. Stake race.
8. Wild horse race.
9. Ladies' cowpony race.
10. Frontier Day stage coach holdup.
11. Running free-for-all—one mile.
12. Roping wild steers.

The rules of the steer roping contest were somewhat different from those now in effect. In that event the roper after catching his steer had to dismount, tie the steer and then remount his horse to give signal to judges by waving his hands.

In the bucking contest, prizes were given not only for the best rider but for the worst horse.

The Pioneer Wedding was awaited with great interest, and was a highlight of the show. In anticipation, the Sun Leader announced the planned details as follows: "Miss Cora Baer and Dr. M. C. Mathews of Denver, in full frontier garb, will be united in marriage by the famous Parson Uzell of Denver. The wedding will take place Wednesday afternoon and 23 bridesmaids will attend the bride. At one o'clock on Wednesday the bride and groom, minister and bridesmaids will assemble at the home of Pitt Covert. At 2 o'clock the bridesmaids will be conveyed in the old Black Hills stage coach drawn by six horses, to the Fair Grounds. A separate conveyance will be on hand for the bride and groom and minister. On arrival at the fair grounds, the bridal party is to take position under the grandstand and upon the signal from the master of ceremonies, Covert, and with the band playing suitable music, the party will repair to the stand which will be located directly in front of the grandstand and in full view of the thousands of spectators, the ceremony will be performed. The Ladies Auxiliary of the Frontier Association has made ample preparations for the entertainment of the bridesmaids, who will be driven over the city in the morning and attend a reception at the Capitol in the evening."

The Bridesmaids' Ball, which was held on Capitol Avenue, between 16th and 17th streets, north of the Interocean Hotel, where the Hynds building is now located, was also an outstanding event. Of that occasion the Sun-Leader says, "The bridesmaids' ball last evening, aside from the unfortunate accident of the bleachers falling down, was one of the most enjoyable events in Cheyenne's history. The evening was ideal for outdoor entertainment, and thousands turned out to participate in the dancing and witness presentation of prizes.

"The bride and groom and bridesmaids arrived about 9:30, and the grand march was called. This was really a pretty sight; the bride and groom led, followed by 23 bridesmaids and their escorts, for the most part well known Cheyenne gentlemen. The Indians, in gala attire, participated and added much to the appropriateness of the occasion.

"With nothing overhead but the canopy of heaven, the stars out in their fullest splendor, the moon lending material assistance to the electric lights, with no wind whatever, the outdoor ball proved eminently successful and enjoyable. It was

truly a frontier event and one that those present will ever remember. At the conclusion of the grand march, Governor Richards awarded the prizes."

The newspapers teemed with interesting articles on the various celebrations. However, for the lack of space, I cannot discuss the details of each show.

For the first five years, there was no gate admission, the only charge being for grandstand seats. Large numbers of people crowded around the entire track. The 1901 committee estimated that four or five thousand people saw the show in this manner and did not contribute one cent to its support. Starting in 1902 a gate admission of 25 cents was charged.

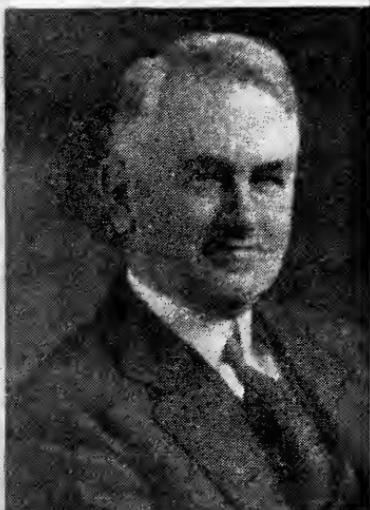
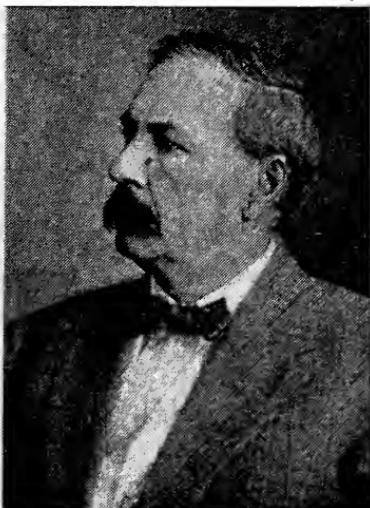
The Frontier Show continued to grow and expand and periodically a additional day was added to the celebration until in 1925 when 5 days were inaugurated. Up to the present time there have been 147 days on which Frontier contests were held.

"A new Frontier Park," quoting from a program of 1908, "large enough for the maneuvers of batteries of artillery or hundreds of mounted men has been laid out just north of the city and a monster double-deck stand is now completed at a cost of \$20,000." This so-called monster stand is half of the present double deck steel stand. In 1922 another section was added at a cost of \$20,000. Again in 1926 additional seating capacity was needed and the stadium stand was erected at a cost of \$16,000. Additional sections were added to the double-deck steel grandstand in 1936 and 1939. These improvements bring the total cost of Frontier Park, as it now stands, to approximately \$300,000. All of this was paid for from the profits of the show since its inception.

In addition to paying for the improvements, the Frontier Committee purchased approximately 100 horse-drawn vehicles which are invaluable at the present time because of difficulty in replacing them; also Indian tepees, the entire night show grounds, fireproof warehouse for storage of the parade vehicles, harness, saddles, and many other items.

Cheyenne Frontier Days Celebration has been imitated throughout the United States but never has been equalled. For 43 years Cheyenne has been building soundly and constructively and today Cheyenne Frontier Days towers above all competitors —has been justly called the "Daddy of 'em All" and the "world's greatest outdoor contest."

An estimated total number of 2,000,000 people has witnessed the 43 Frontier shows. Each year people from every state in the Union and usually several foreign countries are in attendance at Frontier Days and the average annual attendance during recent years has been 60,000 persons.



STATE GOVERNORS

(Left to right, top): John B. Kendrick—January 4, 1915-February 26, 1917; Frank L. Houx (Acting)—February 26, 1917-January 6, 1919; (Bottom): Robert D. Carey—January 2, 1919-January 1, 1923; William B. Ross—January 2, 1923-October 2, 1924. (Died in office.)

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF WYOMING**By Harry B. Henderson, Sr.*****Article IV****John B. Kendrick**

John B. Kendrick was inaugurated as Governor on the first Monday in January, 1915, serving the State as such officer to February 24th, 1917, when he was elected United States Senator. He, too, was a western man, familiar with the traditions of the people of the state, the resources of the state and all the activities which were for their development; he was keen in his observations, practical in business, and urged upon the people to adhere to the thrift and economies that make for progress and happiness.

Governor Kendrick, in his first message to the Legislature said, "The first requisite of a State Department is good service: appropriations should be made to insure this result under a strictly business management. We should bear in mind the actual needs of establishments rather than the benefits to accrue to the localities in which they may be situated.

"Equality of taxation is a necessary principle of fair and impartial government."

Legislation to create a Public Utilities Commission was recommended and the Public Utilities Act was subsequently enacted.

The Governor also recommended that Permanent Land Funds "might be loaned on Wyoming agricultural lands of unquestioned value. I want to impress you that as guardian of this heritage it is imperative that we safeguard it with every precaution to insure its integrity.

"We are confronted by the extreme danger which arises from the application of rights of priority of appropriation of our waters after they have crossed into neighboring states. Constructive legislation is earnestly urged to protect the rights of Wyoming to the waters of its streams."

Enlargement of the Capitol Building is stated as an imperative necessity. In conclusion the Governor says, "I have suggested that you let your keynote be Co-operative. I now urge you to make your watchword Progress."

The Governor, in his message of 1917, says: "In making

*A biographical sketch of Mr. Henderson appears in the ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 11, No. 4, October, 1939, with the first of this series of five articles on Wyoming Territorial and State Governors being written especially for this publication.

appropriations for the support of the various public institutions of the state—we should bear in mind that they are for a definite and fixed purpose and not to be considered as allotments to be expended within the limits of a certain community. There should be a definite disposition on the part of every member to restrict all state appropriations wherever the exercise of such economy is at all consistent with the actual needs of the State."

The creation of the "Budget System" and an enactment of a law for that purpose is urged. The law was enacted in 1919.

Legislation is asked upon the prohibition question.

The enactment of a law providing for a Highway Commission is requested, and the suggestion was enacted into a law. Attention is directed to the reclamation of lands, in the Green River watershed and the statement is made, "there are one million twenty-five thousand acres that can be reclaimed by irrigation."

The Governor, in conclusion, urges "the enactment of carefully considered legislation, avoiding the necessity of hasty action upon important measures. * * * Forget sectionalism, obliterate county lines, merge partisanship into patriotism, blend the north with the south, east and west, so that your every effort will be to serve your state as a whole."

Mr. Kendrick was born in Cherokee County, Texas, in 1857. His ancestors were Virginians, who came to the Texas country in its pioneer days. He received the country school education the district afforded, in which he lived. His ancestors were engaged in the cattle business and as a boy he became interested in the range and the driving of cattle. In 1879, when but twenty-one years old, he brought to Wyoming for his employers over what was then known as the Texas Trail, his first herd of cattle. He located on the Running Water, a small stream just north of the site where the town of Lusk was later built. He returned to Texas in 1883 and purchased for his own account a small herd of cattle, trailed them to Wyoming, and in 1889 established his ranch in northern Wyoming and southern Montana. There were no railroads in that section of the country. The town of Sheridan on Goose Creek had just been established as a community trading point.

Mr. Kendrick lived on the ranch and was his own foreman. He knew the cattle business; he knew how to operate his ranch so that it would earn a profit. He knew how to invest his profits so that they would become profit earners. His investments were diversified. The 'O W' ranch was

known because it was the home of the Kendricks. Miss Eula Wulfjen, who became Mrs. Kendrick, January 20, 1891, was the faithful, loving and helpful wife that managed the home and made the ranch not only home but brought into it those things which gave encouragement to Mr. Kendrick, her husband. A daughter and son were born to this family, Rosa Mae and Manville, who like their parents, are fine people.

Mr. Kendrick was one of the best educated and cultured men in Wyoming, although he never was a student of any college. His education was dug out by giving his evenings to reading and learning the practical things of life. He was always a student in the University of Experience, but it has no "Commencement Days."

Trail driver, foreman, owner, stockman, State Senator, Governor, United States Senator, husband, father; the youth of today can gain much by taking on the spirit of thrift, industry, and good citizenship that were so marked in Governor Kendrick.

Death came to the Senator, November 3, 1933 at Sheridan, the community which he had recognized as home for forty-five years.

Frank L. Houx

Frank L. Houx, Acting Governor of Wyoming from February 26, 1917 to the first Monday in January in 1919, was born in 1860 in the State of Missouri. His educational advantages were limited to the common schools of the district in which he was brought up. As a young man he attended a business college and read law for a short period of time. He came west and lived in Montana for several years, then moved to the Big Horn Basin, settled at Corbett at the mouth of Sage Creek on the Shoshone River.

With the opening of the new town, Cody, he established his residence at that point. He was first Mayor of Cody and succeeded to that office for several terms. He was elected Secretary of State for the State of Wyoming in 1910 and again in 1914. It was during his second term as Secretary that Governor Kendrick was elected United States Senator. Upon Mr. Kendrick being elected Senator, Mr. Houx automatically became Acting Governor. Shortly after taking over the duties of the office of Governor, war was declared against Germany by the Congress of the United States. Mr. Houx thereupon became the War Governor of the State. He mobilized the National Guard of Wyoming and the Regiment was offered to the United States for service abroad. He nominated the persons in the state to have charge of the

registration of men and to make the selective draft. He appointed the Wyoming Council for National Defense which functioned during the war period.

Governor Houx's term of service being between Legislative Sessions, he had no opportunity to present a message concerning the affairs of State. As Chief Executive during a most trying period in world affairs he served creditably and faithfully the interests of Wyoming.

Upon retiring from office in 1919 he directed his energies towards the industrial interests of the country, particularly in the refining of oil. He has now retired from business and is living at Cody where he first held public office.

Robert D. Carey

We are now presenting to you a Wyomingite—Honorable Robert D. Carey, citizen and native son, Governor and United States Senator; a man who grew into the business and affairs of the State naturally.

Governor Carey delivered his first message to the Legislature in 1919. His first recommendation is that "we provide a memorial to the men of Wyoming who were lost in the great War in France that for all time the people of this state shall have a reminder of those who made the supreme sacrifice."

The Governor recommended the enactment of a Prohibition Law, effective June 30, 1919. He also said, "The most important problem that any legislature has to deal with is the matter of appropriations. To avoid extravagance and waste we should adopt what is known as the executive budget. * * * Keep appropriations as low as possible, bearing in mind the good of the entire state rather than some community, but remember that money spent for a useful purpose is never wasted."

Regarding taxation, the Governor said, "No system can be devised which will be entirely satisfactory. Taxes, to be just, must be equitable and their equalization is the most important factor."

Good roads are urged as a valuable asset of the State. "Legislation for the betterment of our schools should be given careful thought and consideration of such bills should not be postponed until the closing hours of the Session."

The Governor calls attention to the agencies carrying forward agricultural experiments, and says, "It would seem as if all this work could be done under the direction of a Depart-

ment of Agriculture." He urges, "surveys of areas of land susceptible to irrigation and that permits be obtained for water rights. If this is not done at an early date, these rights will be acquired by other states." The consolidation of Boards having to do with the live stock industry was recommended.

Governor Carey asked for legislative cooperation regardless of political affiliations.

In his message to the Sixteenth State Legislature, the Governor says, "I shall submit a budget giving a complete itemized plan of all proposed expenditures for each department of state government. It is the first time we have had a budget and there have been no precedents to guide us."

Attention is called to the rapid increase in assessed valuations; the valuation for tax purposes for 1920 being approximately \$430,000,000. The question of an equitable tax had not yet been solved. State institutions and oil royalties are discussed very fully in the message.

"The soldiers who gave their service in the great war should be granted a bonus by the Federal Government in the form of public lands. A resolution to congress so recommending is suggested. We can never expect to do very much for agriculture until a State Agricultural Department is created."

The creation of the State Fish and Game Commission was recommended, the administration of the Blue Sky Law was recommended.

The Governor criticises in no uncertain terms the inactivity of county officers to enforce the provision of certain laws, and suggests the creation of a State Department of Law Enforcement.

In closing, he said, "My desire and purpose is to co-operate with you, to assist, not to dictate, bearing in mind that we have one and all assumed a solemn obligation to the people."

Robert D. Carey served Wyoming as Governor for four years and approximately seven years as United States Senator. He was born in Cheyenne, August 12, 1878. Wyoming was always his home. He was a typical westerner; courteous to all, just in dealing with his fellowmen, wise in counsel in business and public affairs, he loved the people of his state. He died in his home city, January 17, 1937.

After completing his college course at Yale, he took on the management of the Carey land and livestock interests in Central Wyoming, and thereby, learned from practical experience the problems of the stockman and farmer. He was successful in overcoming some of the difficulties that attend agricultural pro-

duction and made the ranch a profitable unit of the Carey Company. He was interested in the things that made for development and progress in the State.

Mr. Carey married Julia B. Freeman of Douglas in 1903, a daughter of an honored pioneer family of Wyoming. Mrs. Carey and their two children, Miss Sarah and Mr. Joseph Carey, survive the fine gentleman, stockman, Governor, Senator and statesman.

William B. Ross

William B. Ross, the ninth elected Governor of Wyoming, was born in Tennessee, December 4, 1873, educated in his native state and admitted to the practice of law, came to Wyoming in 1901, located in Cheyenne where he opened a law office and began the practice of his profession.

Mr. Ross was a clean young man of splendid personality and was well received by the people of the State. He was elected Prosecuting Attorney of Laramie County in 1906 and during his term of office made decided advance in enforcing the laws of the State, and closing places of vice in Cheyenne. He was a Democrat and was willing at all times to defend the principles of his party; he was active in polities and campaigned the State several times in the interests of his party candidates.

Mr. Ross was nominated for Governor by his party in 1922 and was elected to the high office, assuming the duties on the first Monday of January, 1923.

Governor Ross, in his message to the Seventeenth Legislature, presented the following:

“We are here only because the men upon whom the same duty fell in their day were steadfastly loyal to the masses from whom they derived their authority. Against the encroachments of arbitrary powers and selfish greed, they stood fearlessly for the right. In the words of the immortal Lincoln, ‘A Government of the people, by the people and for the people.’ In contemplation of the high ideals of the men who have gone before us in legislating for this State, we cannot fail to be moved by the solemnity of the moment. Not as partisan do we meet, but as delegated spokesmen of the people who sent us. They expect us to meet the emergencies which arise and to perform the tasks allotted to us with a view to their welfare. I have every confidence in the success of our common efforts.

“At the outset, I must impress upon you the importance of the strictest economy. The financial crisis existing throughout the nation is, no doubt, temporary, but so long as it lasts we will have no alternative but to forego many of the things we considered necessities under normal conditions.”

The Governor recommended the consolidation of departments of government and thereby curtailing expense. He said, "Many of such departments are luxuries we can afford in times of prosperity, but which we ought to deprive ourselves of in times of financial depression. *It is just as incumbent upon the State as it is upon the individual to live within its income.*

"Louisiana has a severance license tax placed upon state products which are removed from that State. The national resources of Wyoming which are being removed year after year are probably of more value than those removed from the State of Louisiana. We should have the benefit of a severance license tax law."

Law enforcement was urged. The violation of the Prohibition Laws is particularly referred to. "In order to secure enforcement it is necessary for the Executive to have the power to remove any officer who fails to discharge his full duty in this regard."

The message has many fine suggestions, in fact Mr. Ross would make none other.

A supplemental message was sent to the Legislature upon the subject of severance tax legislation, in which the Governor says, "A crisis has been reached; the people's cause is imperiled. My desire to do something for them is the force which impels me to appear before you. I remind you of your responsibility to the people at home whom you are chosen to represent, those who are too poor to send emissaries to safeguard their interests."

Mr. Ross and Miss Nellie Tayloe were married September 11, 1902. Four children were born in the family.

Governor Ross died October 2, 1924, having served less than twenty-one months of his four-year term. He was an efficient executive, a gentleman and an honored citizen.

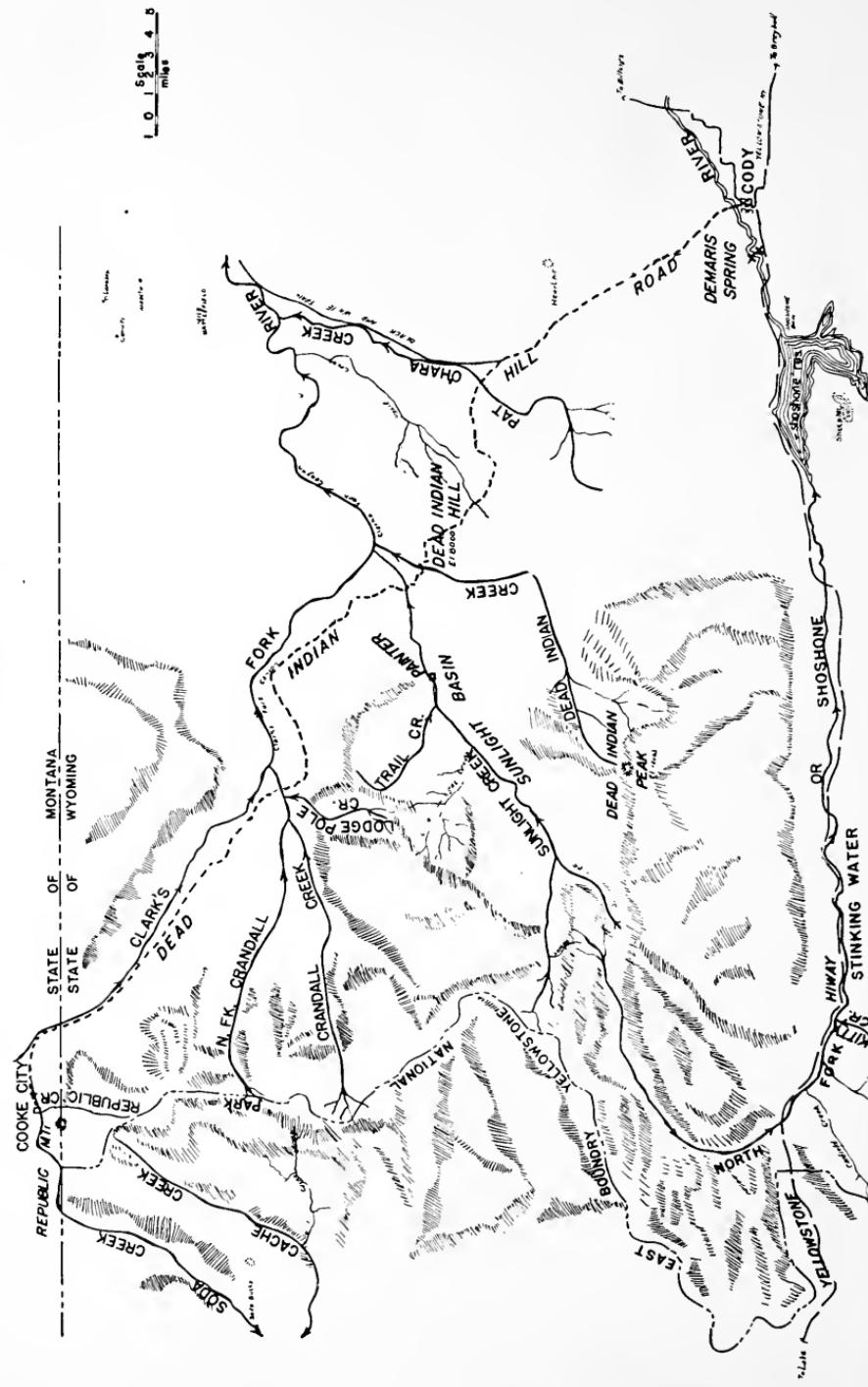
(To be concluded in October issue)

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THE WEST

When you can ride each lengthening trail
Without a sense of loneliness;
When every coulee, draw and swale
Holds beauties which you would possess;
When you can read the starry skies
Beneath which you lie down to rest,
Then shall you know and realize
The fascination of the West!

—From "Trail Dust of a Maverick,"
By E. A. Brininstool.



Showing Upper Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone River, its Tributaries, and Dead Indian Hill Road

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF UPPER CLARK'S FORK OF THE YELLOWSTONE AND ITS TRIBUTARIES WITHIN THE STATE OF WYOMING

By John K. Rollinson

FOREWORD

In preparing the following article on early-day history of the Clark's Fork region in northwestern Wyoming, it has been necessary to include considerable data concerning certain border points in Montana, and especially Cooke City, as the early travel into the Clark's Fork district came by way of Cooke City. Up to about the year 1900, much of the trading was done in Cooke City or Livingston, Bozeman or Fort Yellowstone, and later, in Red Lodge, Montana.—J.K.R.

The earliest known white man to have left any history behind him in the state of Wyoming was John Colter, who definitely was known to have traversed, and for a time dwelt, in the valley of the Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone as early as 1807. As the facts are well established in regard to Colter leaving the Lewis and Clark party on the return from the explorations down the Columbia to the Pacific, nothing further need be related as to how Colter happened to have separated himself from the Lewis and Clark Expedition and ventured by himself on an exploration which disclosed the Yellowstone National Park, as we now know it, but which was first known to the early travelers in the West as "Colter's Hell." Small wonder it is that his true stories of his discoveries were not regarded seriously by many in the early days.

Colter traveled through Sunlight Valley, a tributary of Clark's Fork, and crossed the divide between the head of Sunlight Creek and the head of the North Fork of the Stink-

EDITOR'S NOTE: John K. Rollinson, now living at 2285 Mar Vista Ave., Altadena, California, spent "many happy years as a cow hand, ranger and freighter" in Wyoming. He was an early pioneer settler of Sunlight Basin, one of the less known beauty spots in the extreme northwestern Wyoming, Park County, concerning which he has written the accompanying informative and entertaining article, especially for the ANNALS.

He was in the stock business in that section, as well as in the hunting and guiding business. He freighted to the Sunlight Mines and to the Winona Mines, also from Gardiner to Cooke City, Montana. Later, 1906 to 1913, Mr. Rollinson was a United States ranger in charge of the Sunlight-Clark's Fork district.

Mr. Rollinson is representative-at-large of the Montana-Wyoming National Cowboys association, a social organization made up of men who rode range in Montana or Wyoming for cow or horse outfits in the '80s or '90s. State "camps" are formed, "wagon bosses" elected and meetings held once or twice a year. "The organization, founded recently in Montana and Wyoming, was formed to organize and hold the old-

ing Water, down which stream he traveled, finding well-marked Indian trails leading to the Stinking Water Hot Springs, now known as the DeMarris Springs. He was the first white man to visit those springs, which caused the Indians to name the river which passes the Springs "The Stinking Water," because of the sulphurous odors arising therefrom, and because of the active small geysers, likewise emitting a strong sulphurous odor.

Years went by after the first visit on the upper Clark's Fork by John Colter, and it was not until fifty years later that any authentic knowledge was had of a white man in that section, when Pat O'Harras was known to have trapped in the Clark's Fork country and had established headquarters on Pat O'Harras Creek in 1857, when he was with the Great American Fur Company and where he lived for several years until the middle seventies, when all trace of him became lost, after he was last seen at old Fort C. F. Smith on the Big Horn.

Hunting parties of Crow Indians frequented the upper Clark's Fork and Sunlight Valley, as game was at all times abundant, and where there was but little difficulty in getting a few scalps of "Sheep Eaters" to take back to the Crow villages on the lower Clark's Fork, Pryor Creek and the lower Stinking Water.

The first actual prospecting for gold in the upper Clark's Fork country followed closely the discovery of gold at Alder Gulch, Montana Territory, when prospectors came from the west, traveling down stream from the head of Clark's Fork, as the early prospector had entered the Gallatin Valley by the Bozeman Trail. It was one of the small groups of the original John Bozeman party that encountered disaster on Crandall Creek, a tributary of the upper Clark's Fork, when,

time American cowboys together and preserve the traditions of the range." There are no dues or assessments.

As symbolic evidence of Mr. Rollinson's continuing loyalty and interest in his home state, he has donated a handsome gift in the form of a bronze plaque to commemorate the historical aspects of the summit of Dead Indian Hill, that high pass, "which is the only passageway to the valleys west of the Big Horn Basin country, and opening to Sunlight Creek and the upper Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone."

Engraved on the plaque, which is 24" x 36" in size, are the names of the 16 pioneers including Mr. Rollinson as having made possible the road work in 1909 that rendered the dangerous Dead Indian Hill safer for travel. Efforts were concentrated particularly on the so-called "Beaver Slide," at the foot of the hill, which was the most perilous of several precarious stretches.

The plaque is set into a native stone, cut and faced by the Forest Service, and the monument is to be dedicated in a public ceremony by the Wyoming Landmarks Commission, some time in August, 1940.



**Old Dead Indian Hill Road to Sunlight Valley
and Upper Clark's Fork**

—Photo by J. K. Rollinson

in 1869, a prospector named Marvin J. Crandall, with one companion, went from Bozeman to Jardin, Montana Territory, and with a pack outfit traveled that old Indian trail to Lake Abundance, and through Daisy Pass to where Cooke City now is located. He prospected the upper Clark's Fork and upper Crandall Creek, and found a rich placer, which, as fall came on, he reported in Bozeman on his return there.

In the spring of 1870 (the following spring), a party of prospectors was organized by Adam (Horn) Miller, one of the original John Bozeman men, consisting of Bart Henderson, J. H. Moore, James Gurley, T. Dougherty and Marvin J. Crandall, (often referred to as "Jack"). Crandall and Dougherty started out a month in advance of the remainder of the party, and planned to meet on Clark's Fork Meadows, a few miles south of the Montana-Wyoming line. The main party under Horn Miller met Indians and crossed the divide west of Cache Creek. While there, Indians stole all their horses, leaving them afoot. They cached their outfit, hence Cache Creek. The four men, Miller, Moore, Henderson and Gurley, made their way over the old Indian trail down Slough Creek

and down the Boulder to Bozeman. A searching party was organized, and horses procured to hunt for Crandall and Dougherty. Their bodies were found at their camp on the forks of a creek which became known thereafter as Crandall Creek.

In murdering these two men, the Indians had decapitated both bodies, and placed each head on the spike of a miner's pick, which had been driven in the ground, and placed a tin cup of coffee in front of each impaled skull. In the right hand of each man's body, a few feet away, was held a spoon. It was evident to the searching party that young men of the Crow Nation had committed the murder and taken the men's horses, camp equipment and guns.

The same party of searchers, again under Miller, set out from Bozeman in the spring of 1871, and hunted all summer for the lost placer, and when on Cache Creek found that their cache had been looted by Indians, and the contents carried off and equipment destroyed, they crossed the divide from Cache Creek to Republic Creek, and discovered the manganese-stained outcrop which was later developed as the Republic mine.

The following year (1872) mining claims were staked out on Miller and Republic mountains, and by 1875 the mining camp then called Clark's Fork, was established, although located at that time on or within the Crow Indian Reservation. The Lost Placer has never been re-discovered.

In 1877, a raiding party of Chief Joseph's Nez Perce Indians, during their famous retreat from General Howard, robbed the small smelter at the outskirts of the new camp then called Cooke City, of lead bullion and silver, and used the silver lead for molding bullets for their muskets. Chief Joseph's retreat followed up Cache Creek and down Crandall Creek to Lodge Pole Creek, then over Lodge Pole Creek (a tributary of the upper Clark's Fork) then down Trail Creek and into Sunlight Valley, then to Dead Indian Creek, where a sharp skirmish occurred, and from which incident the creek acquired its name. Then up that steep pass, now known as Dead Indian Hill, then down eastward off Bald Ridge and on to the Clark's Fork below the canyon.

By 1880 the little camp, (named in honor of Jay Cooke), one of the builders of the Northern Pacific Railroad which, at that time, had planned to build into the new mining camp, had a fast-growing population, and by that time travel had already started to come from the east side of the mountains and from Big Horn Basin and down the famous Dead Indian Hill where the grade was so steep that the driver of the

first two-wheel mountain carts cut down a heavy tree to use as a drag to help their double rough-locks make their descent of the hill less hazardous, and even when four-wheeled wagons made the descent, they likewise dragged huge trees as a precaution against the all-too-often accident. This hill had an altitude at the summit of 8,000 feet, and at the crossing of Dead Indian Creek, at the bottom of the hill, the altitude was 6,000 feet. The road was about a mile and a quarter long, and was in places a 25 per cent grade. The road from Dead Indian Creek crossed Sunlight at a dangerous ford and down a bad hill, so that any heavy vehicle was obliged to go up Sunlight Creek eight miles to the crossing at the Spruce point (later the Painter ranch), and there ford the stream, which was a safe ford except in flood water.

The road then went down Sunlight Creek to the rim of the box canyon of the Clark's Fork River, and followed up the south side of the river to the head of the stream, which was the Montana-Wyoming boundary. Three miles down the Soda Butte Creek side of the divide was located Cooke City.

The need for meat in the new mining camp gave hunters an opportunity to profit from the abundant herds of elk that ranged in Wyoming close to the new mining camp, and outstanding amongst these hunters was Frank Chatfield, a young man with one of the earliest of the Bozeman Trail freighters. Chatfield went to Cooke City, and having a good pack outfit of horses, he engaged in killing elk for the camp, and built up not only a reputation as a good hunter, but a profitable enterprize as well, and as his hunting in late fall took him into the Sunlight Valley, where large elk herds were found, he made a winter camp there and in 1884 built the first log house in Sunlight Basin, and to keep the elk out of a piece of nice grass-land or meadow, he built a pole fence with bored posts to fence in his land, which now began to take the name of a "ranch," the first ranch in the entire upper northwest corner of what was then Sweetwater County, Wyoming Territory.

Frank Chatfield married a young woman in Cooke City in 1884, her given name was "Kitty" (last name unknown). She helped Chatfield build up the ranch in Sunlight Basin, and they purchased a few shorthorn or Durham cows from a trail herd that was driving from Oregon into Big Horn Basin to deliver to the Lovell ranch on the lower Stinking Water. Kitty milked cows all summer, and sold the butter in Cooke City, taking pack horses to carry the elk meat and butter, and they

brought back their winter provisions, a little at a time, each trip. They had taken into Sunlight an old mowing machine, piece by piece, on pack animals; they made a hayrack out of a pole with shafts on it with willow brush teeth. This was dragged by one horse, and a small amount of hay was put up and carefully husbanded, for it had to carry through the first calves that winter and spring to feed some of the older cows.

The following year they continued to make butter and put up hay, and soon several tons were produced from the natural meadow which they irrigated from a small ditch of water out of Sunlight.

Kitty was handy and willing, and Frank was able to do almost anything he set his hand to. They added to their fences and buildings, and their herd of cattle grew in numbers, for Sunlight was a fine grass country. This couple took time away from ranch and hunting duties to prospect for gold, for both had the mining urge. They crossed the head of Sunlight and on to the head of the Stinking Water, even as John Colter had done so long before, and prospected all the tributaries of the North Fork of the Stinking Water. On a small creek, now known as Kitty Fork or Kitty Creek, they found placer indications sufficiently promising so that they made a permanent camp and set up a pit saw, with which they whip-sawed lodgepole pine logs into inch lumber to build flumes and sluices to aid them in their placer operations. They succeeded quite well, it is said.

These same placer grounds on Kitty Fork are still being worked by other miners to this day. It was a man's work to whip-saw lumber, but Kitty was willing and courageous.

The second white man to become a permanent resident of Sunlight Basin was Adolphus J. Beam, who came from Prairie duChien, Wisconsin, and who had spent some time trapping and had assisted Chatfield with his market hunting. Al Beam, as he was familiarly known, settled on a piece of land two miles down the creek below Chatfield's, and began the development of a ranch, building log houses, corrals and pole fences. He purchased a small bunch of cows, and prospered as a cattleman, as did Chatfield, for they both shortly gave up their efforts at hunting for the market, and had sufficient cattle to require all their time in attending to the ranch and their herd.

All of the range was open to these two pioneers, and their herds of horses and cattle prospered. After the death of Frank Chatfield, the widow, Kitty, married a Cyrus Josiah Davis, who also came from the Gallatin Valley. In 1909, Kitty was wounded

in the arm by a gunshot while she was in the new town of Cody, Wyoming, and died as the result thereof.

(It was customary for the first few settlers in Sunlight and Crandall Creek and the Upper Clark's Fork Valleys to do their trading in Cooke City and Livingston, and very little travel went over Dead Indian Hill to the east, until the nineties, when each year a considerable migration of Mormons, traveling by wagon to Idaho did a little necessary road work here and there, and as the town in Big Horn Basin started to offer some trade advantages to the settlers of the upper Clark's Fork, to attract them and their purchasing away from Cooke City and Red Lodge, Montana, and when Big Horn County was formed from Fremont County, there were reasons for the Clark's Fork people to trade more in Big Horn Basin. (In the late nineties, John R. Painter developed a ranch in Sunlight Basin, and was also opening up the Sunlight mining district. He built a wagon road from the settlement in Sunlight, on up to the mouth of Galena creek, close to the mining property, and as a considerable amount of freighting was done for three or four years, the Dead Indian Hill road became more traveled, and enough work was done on it to enable a wagon to travel the grade.)

(It was in 1909, however, before any attempt was ever made to permanently improve the old dangerous Dead Indian Hill road. That year the few original settlers in Sunlight Basin organized, and established a grade from the foot of the hill at the creek on up to the top of the old "Beaver Slide," which had been the worst of several bad places. This new grade was surveyed out with a spirit-level and a sixteen-foot straight-edge. The new road was about three-fourths of a mile long, and is still in use on the same grade as originally built, and today a good graded road has been completed to the top of the mountain, where the altitude is 8,000 feet.)

The county and the United States Forest Service made possible the later road building, but the first work was done entirely by the settlers without outside help of any kind. It is no longer necessary to drag a tree or use a rough-lock, and today the automobile ascends and descends this ancient game trail on a well-graded road. In the course of time the Sunlight and Clark's Fork country became a part of the Yellowstone Timber Reserve, which was the very first attempt by the Government to set aside a large piece of the public domain, and which became known later as the Shoshone National Forest.

The following men and women dwellers of Sunlight Basin in 1909 contributed work, teams, cattle or funds to make the new grade on the lower end of the hill a possibility:

Adolphus J. Beam	Ella Tighe
William V. Campbell	John R. Painter
Siras J. Davis	Willard D. Ruscher
Wade McClung	Evelyn T. Painter
Augustus G. Lafond	Mary E. Painter
Oliver Whitney	William T. Painter
Hervey G. Marvin	Marguerite M. Painter
Samuel Thompson	John K. Rollinson

In the early part of this century a post office was established at the Painter Ranch on Sunlight at "Spruce Point;" it was called Painter, Wyoming. A once-a-week mail from Cody was inaugurated. It was quite a lengthy trip to the county seat of Big Horn County at Basin but a much longer trip to Lander, when that was the county seat, in Sweetwater County, and later Fremont County.

JAMES BRIDGER'S CLAIMS

By Victor H. Cohen*

An article in the October, 1939, issue of this journal¹ mentions the claims of James Bridger against the United States government and includes quotations which suggest that Bridger was defrauded of his property through the machinations of United States army officers and a lack of good faith on the part of the United States government. The purpose of the article was merely to give a description of Fort Bridger and to convey some information concerning its acquisition, but the incidental reference to Bridger's claim against the government raises an important question. Was the United States government guilty of bad faith?

James Bridger, celebrated hunter, trapper, fur trader, and guide, founded Fort Bridger, a trading post, about 1843,²

*Mr. Cohen, who is a graduate assistant in the Department of History of the University of Wyoming, has prepared this essay under the direction of Dr. Alfred Larson.

¹ "James Bridger, a Mexican Citizen," p. 292.

² The exact year when the fort was established is a point of dispute among writers of Western History. The year 1843 is accepted by J. Cecil Alter, James Bridger (Salt Lake City, Shepard Book Co., 1925), p. 176, and Hiram M. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (New York, Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), Vol I, p. 366. Hubert H. Bancroft, History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming, 1540-1888 (San Francisco, The History Co., 1890), p. 684, and C. G. Coutant, History of Wyoming (Laramie, Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, 1899), Vol. I, p. 350, recognize 1842 as the date for the erection of Fort Bridger.

on Mexican territory. The post was located in what was at that time Green River County, Utah Territory,³ in the valley of Black's Fork, a tributary of Green River. It was a boon to the emigrants on the Overland Trail to California, for this oasis in the desert provided an adequate resting spot for the weary and a place for replenishing necessary supplies.⁴

Although Bridger's name was given to the fort, it was established and owned by Bridger and Vasquez, a Mexican fur trader who was associated with him in a fur trading outfit about 1840.⁵ The partners prospered under the jurisdiction of Mexico and later the United States. In 1853, however, the Mormons, who wished to secure control of the whole Green River Valley, made efforts to oust Bridger and Vasquez. The desire to depose "Old Jim" was intensified by the rumor that he was supplying arms to the Ute Indians, with whom the Mormons were at war. Brigham Young issued orders for Bridger's arrest on charges of inciting the Indians against the Mormon's. It was, however, no easy matter to capture the old mountaineer. While Mormon posses were organizing to search the mountains, Bridger with a former government surveyor, John M. Hockaday, surveyed the Fort Bridger lands. Unable to return to the fort because he feared Mormon posses, Bridger left with his family (toward the end of 1853), and went direct, it is believed to the farm at Little Santa Fe, Jackson County, Missouri. Bridger then proceeded to St. Louis, and through official channels had his land survey papers filed in the General Land Office on March 9, 1854.⁶

In 1854 Bridger joined Sir George Gore, a wealthy Irish nobleman, in a two-year expedition through the Rocky Mountains. Gore's purpose in his western journey seemed to be

³ Fort Bridger is now located in Uinta County, Wyoming, and is still a historic landmark on the great Lincoln Highway.

⁴ "It might be said that Fort Bridger was the West's first 'tourist's' park, for it was the first post to be established for the convenience and trade of travelers, all others having been established for either purely military or fur trading purposes." Rock Springs Miner, June 23, 1933.

⁵ Chittenden, *op. cit.*, p. 366. Coutant (*op. cit.*, p. 350), however, disagrees with Chittenden and states that Vasquez did not become a partner until 1845, fully two years after the fort was established. An article on Fort Bridger in the Kansas City Times of Sept. 24, 1928 supports Coutant.

Vasquez' given name is not known and Chittenden (*op. cit.*, p. 350), refers to him as Benito Vasquez; Alter (*op. cit.*, p. 176), calls him Louis; Coutant (*op. cit.*, p. 350), refers to him as Auguste. Some travelers referred to him as a Frenchman and others as a Mexican.

⁶ Alter, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

for pleasure and to justify an eccentric curiosity.⁷ Bridger acted as guide, interpreter, and companion to Gore who was highly pleased with his services.

After leaving Gore in 1856 "it is said that he (Bridger) journeyed to Washington, D. C., where he not only acquainted himself with the government's attitude toward the Mormons, but made certain officials acquainted with his own views of the Mormons, and was presented by a Missouri senator to the President.⁸ Knowing that the United States government was going to send an army to quell the Mormon resistance, Bridger went to Fort Laramie in the summer of 1857,⁹ and he stayed there until General Albert S. Johnston, in command of the Army of Utah, arrived at Fort Bridger in the winter of the same year, and drove the Mormons from the fort. Bridger was then restored to possession of the fort by General Johnston, but on November 18, 1857, he leased it (on behalf of himself and Vasquez) under a written contract with Captain John H. Dickerson, assistant quartermaster, who acted for the United States government. The contract provided that Bridger should lease to the United States for ten years the tract of land consisting of 3,890½ acres upon which Fort Bridger was situated. In return, the United States government agreed to pay an annual rental of \$600 for ten years, the payment of which was to commence as soon as he established his title to the land to the satisfaction of the Quartermaster General of the United States, or whenever the Attorney General of the United States pronounced the title good. The contracting parties further agreed that the United States government should have the privilege of purchasing the said tract of land by paying Bridger \$10,000 and that the lease could be terminated by the United States upon three months' notice.¹⁰

The provision for postponing payments of rent was inserted because of a doubt as to the validity of Bridger's title to the land. About a month after the contract was signed, Captain Dickerson reported as follows:

"He (Bridger) bases his claim to it (the fort and vicinity) on some Mexican or Spanish law, somewhat similar

⁷ F. Geo. Heldt, from conversations with Henry Bostwick, a member of the Gore party, in "Contributions, Montana Historical Society," Vol. I, 1876, quoted by Alter, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁸ Alter, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹⁰ Report of the Secretary of War to the Senate of the United States, Jan. 25, 1889. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Vol. III, 50 Cong., 2 Sess., and Special Session of March 4, 1889, Exhibit 4 C, p. 8 (Ser. No. 2612). Hereafter, this reference will be referred to as Sen. Ex. Doc. 86.

to the preemption laws of the United States. I think it exceedingly doubtful whether his title is good, but the contract is so drawn that no payment is to be made until he establishes his title. I have leased the property in order to prevent any heavy reclamations on the Government for loss or destruction of private property in case his title is good."¹¹

Bridger was then employed as a guide in the Mormon War of 1857-1858 and probably delighted in leading United States troops against his old enemies, the Mormons, who had driven him out of his beloved fort. After the war Bridger made frequent visits to his family who were living on his old Missouri farm. Between visits he acted as a guide for United States exploring expeditions, Union Pacific surveys, and Indian campaigns.

Not until 1869, twelve years after he had leased Fort Bridger to the United States, did Bridger begin inquiring of the War Department whether the government intended to pay him \$6,000, the sum of the ten annual rental payments which he claimed was due him under the terms of the lease.¹² Receiving no reply, he wrote again on January 6, 1870, to remind the Secretary of War that the lease of 1857 also gave the United States government the option of purchasing Fort Bridger for \$10,000, and to say that if the government did not wish to take advantage of this option, he would like to be restored to peaceful possession of the fort.¹³ On April 25 of the same year the War Department replied that as soon as Bridger produced evidence of his title to the fort, the government would carry into effect the agreement made with him in 1857.¹⁴ Apparently Bridger made no effort to establish title, but the War Department made inquiries of the General Land Office, and in 1872, Willis Drummond, Commissioner of that office, declared that no private survey¹⁵ or claim, such as Bridger's, was recognized in the vicinity of Fort Bridger.¹⁶

¹¹ Dickerson to Major General Thos. S. Jesup, Quartermaster-General, Dec. 21, 1857. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 3, p. 7.

¹² Bridger to the Secretary of War, August 21, 1869. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 4 A, p. 7. Bridger was apparently illiterate (as indicated by the signature on this letter), for in this instance A. Wadsman (sometimes spelled Wachsman), Bridger's son-in-law, wrote for him.

¹³ Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 4 B, p. 7.

¹⁴ Ibid., Exhibit 4 F, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵ Infra, p. 2.

¹⁶ Drummond to E. D. Townsend, Adjutant General of the U. S. Army, Dec. 14, 1872. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 4 G, p. 10.

In 1873 Bridger, now ill,¹⁷ but urged on by friends and family, solicited the aid of General B. F. Butler, at that time a Senator from Massachusetts. Failing to get any satisfaction from the War Department, Bridger wrote a general letter to the Senator hoping that he would use his political influence with the War Department or else introduce a private bill in Congress for Bridger's relief. Bridger also played upon Butler's sympathies and wrote him that he was a poor man, growing old and feeble, and thus unable to pursue his claim. In regard to his title to the fort, Bridger admitted to General Butler that he had no evidence and therefore could not comply with the government demand, ". . . although I (Bridger) was authorized to establish my fort there and settle Salt Lake Valley by the Governor of Upper California, I have no proper papers to show therefor."¹⁸

There is no evidence that Butler acted upon Bridger's plea or even replied to his letter, and Bridger was too ill and helpless to do anything more. In 1878 his family decided to take the situation in hand and on January 12 of the same year they made a formal inquiry of the Secretary of War in regard to the status of Bridger's claims and also asked to be paid the accumulated rent owed to them.¹⁹ On February 21, 1878, the Secretary of War informed Bridger's family that "his (Bridger's) failure to establish title to the property in question, previous to its being embraced in a military reservation (on July 14, 1859), excluded the Secretary of War from recognizing his claim to ownership or rent."²⁰

Receiving no satisfaction from the War Department, Bridger's family hired one Charles M. Carter, attorney, to pursue their claim directly in Congress. By bringing pressure upon that body, Bridger's family and their attorney finally started the machinery of Congress rolling on May 17, 1880, at which time the House Committee on Claims, in cooperation

¹⁷ Mrs. Wachsman, Bridger's daughter, wrote to General Grenville M. Dodge (date unknown) that in 1873 her father's health was beginning to fail and his eyes were so bad that he could not distinguish people except by the sound of their voices. Dodge, G. M., "Biographical Sketch of James Bridger," quoted in Alter, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

¹⁸ Bridger to Butler, Oct. 12, 1873. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 5, pp. 13-14. Bridger also added that ". . . had I not leased the premises in good faith to the government, I would now reside thereon, and would surely by this time have perfected my title thereto under the several acts of Congress since passed, from which I was prevented by the Government keeping me out of possession thereof . . ."

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Exhibit 4 N, p. 10.

²⁰ Alex. Ramsey, Secretary of War, to Samuel L. Sawyer, of the House Committee on Claims, June 9, 1880. *Ibid.*, Exhibit 4 N, p. 12.

with the corresponding Senate Committee, asked the War Department to investigate and report upon Bridger's suit.²¹

Carter, evidently knowing that Bridger's claim for the rental payments was very doubtful, thought that he would have a chance to collect for the improvements erected by Bridger and in 1880 he began to collect affidavits to the effect that Bridger's improvements were existing when the United States army arrived at Fort Bridger in 1857.²² Bridger died on July 17, 1881, but his family, with the aid of Carter, continued pursuing the case which was slowly investigated by Congress from 1880 until January 25, 1889, at which time a complete report of the investigation was presented by Quartermaster General S. B. Holabird.²³

Knowing that the War Department did not recognize Bridger's claim to title of the fort by a grant from the Governor of Upper California, Carter decided that it was hopeless to press that claim, and decided to base the source of title to the fort on an alleged grant from the Governor of Chihuahua whose records probably would be difficult to obtain. He stated before the Senate Committee on Claims (date unknown) that:

"Under the auspices of the governor of Chihuahua, in 1843, before the Mexican War, Capt. James Bridger was induced under a promise by the Government of a large grant of land to establish a colony in Green River country, Utah, then Mexican territory, which he did at great expense. . . .

"Under the Spanish rule²⁴ he was to plant said colony and retain possession of the country for a term of years before he was to receive the title to that grant."²⁵

Carter further alleged that after the Mexican War Bridger's possession became a part of United States territory, and that Bridger, as a former citizen of Mexico,²⁶ was entitled to

21 Sawyer to Ramsey, May 16, 1880. *Ibid.*, Exhibit 4 K, p. 11.

22 For improvement story see *Supra*, p. 6 et seq.

23 The complete report was published in *Sen. Ex. Doc. 86*.

24 Mexico became independent of Spain in 1820 but doubtless there was no change in the Spanish rules for claiming titles to land.

25 *Sen. Ex. Doc. 86*, Exhibit 18, p. 21.

26 The question as to whether Bridger was a citizen of Mexico has never been settled although an anonymous article, "James Bridger, a Mexican Citizen," in *Annals of Wyoming*, Oct. 1939, p. 292, states that Bridger no doubt had to have permission from Mexican authorities before he could build his fort on Mexican territory, and cited Carter's unproved statement that Bridger was a former Mexican citizen.

However, it was possible for Bridger to erect his fort without permission from the Mexican government, as it was a common practice at the time in an area so sparsely settled and so far from any representatives of governmental authority for a man to occupy land without authorization.

have his rights respected and protected as provided for by the treaty of peace and the rules of international law which state that conquering nations cannot dispose of the private rights of conquered subjects. Though Carter's averment as to the existence of this rule for international law is correct, he could not produce evidence of title from the Mexican government and therefore the committees on claims felt justified in not applying the rule.

Bridger's attorney ventured to say that the United States army officers deliberately attempted to swindle Bridger at the time of the signing of the contract in 1857. "Being an illiterate man (as will be seen from making his mark on the lease), these intelligent Army officers ingeniously worded the lease of his property to suit alone the interests of the Government, and got possession of a property in which he had put his earnings of a lifetime—his all on earth."²⁷

Carter also averred that the establishment of a military reservation at the fort by the United States government in 1859 defeated Bridger's efforts to complete his title.²⁸ However, his argument did not convince the Congressional committees on claims for they had proof from Bridger that he made no efforts" . . . owing to the fact that I (Bridger) was all my life out in the mountains, and consequently ignorant what steps were required to be taken to perfect my title to the premises."²⁹ Robert Ellison, former chairman of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming, believed that Carter stretched the truth several times during the case.³⁰

After hearing all the testimony on the question of ownership of Fort Bridger, the Congressional committees on claims in 1892 accepted Quartermaster General Holabird's investigations and recommendations that no money be paid for rental of the fort on the ground that the condition of the contract had not been fulfilled, thus precluding the claimant from recovery.³¹

After denying Bridger's claim to ownership of Fort Bridger, Congress considering the question of payments for improvements which were said to be erected by the claimant,

²⁷ Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 18, p. 21.

²⁸ Ibid., Exhibit 18, p. 21.

²⁹ Bridger to Butler, Oct. 27, 1873. Ibid., Exhibit 5, pp. 13-14.

³⁰ Ellison, Robert R., *Fort Bridger, Wyoming* (Casper, Commercial Printing Co., 1931), p. 29.

³¹ Report of the Committee on Claims, May 5, 1892, Sen. Rep. 625, 52 Cong., 1 Sess. (Ser. No. 2913), and Report of the Committee on Claims, June 4, 1892, House Rep. 1576, 52 Cong., 1 Sess. (Ser. No. 3046).

apparently adhered to the doctrine of equity,³² which stated that a reputed owner of land in unsettled territory where unimproved land is of small value should not lose the benefit of full compensation for enhancing the value of the property. The improvements were said to consist of thirteen log houses which were so located as to form a hollow square in the center of an area of about four thousand square feet, all of which were surrounded by a stone wall laid in cement about eighteen feet high and five feet thick, with bastions at each corner. Outside this wall were a corral for stock, which was enclosed by a stone wall laid in cement, and six other outhouses.³³ The questions now arose as to whether Bridger built the improvements and if they were still in existence at the time of the occupation of the fort by the United States army in 1857. In answer to this question Carter presented the affidavits that he had gathered in 1880 of several men who testified on Bridger's behalf, many years after they had been at Fort Bridger.

Mr. John Kiney of Missouri swore on January 21, 1880, that he was employed as a teamster at the time of the occupation of Fort Bridger by Johnston's army of Utah, and when he arrived at the fort there were valuable improvements upon the premises made by James Bridger. The improvements, he said, consisted of thirteen log houses enclosed by a stone wall laid in cement, and had cost at least \$20,000.³⁴ O. H. P. Rippetto, on January 21, 1880, swore that he was a wagonmaster with the army of General Johnston in 1857 and upon his arrival at Fort Bridger he saw valuable improvements comprising thirteen log houses and a corral, both of which were enclosed by stone walls laid in cement, and these improvements could not be placed at a cost of less than \$20,000. William T. Mack Craw, a day earlier, testified to the same effect.³⁵

³² "While it is true that improvements and permanent buildings upon land belong to the owner, yet, in a comparatively newly organized state, where titles are necessarily more uncertain than they are in England, there is an instinctive conviction that justice requires that the possession under a defective title should have recompense for the improvements which have been made in good faith upon the land of another. The maxim, often repeated in the decisions upon this subject, *nemo debet locupletari ex alterius incommodo*, tersely expresses the antagonism against the enrichment of one out of the honest mistake, and to the ruin of another." *Griswold v. Bragg et ux.*, May 27, 1880, *Federal Reporter*, Vol. 48, p. 521, et seq.

³³ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 86, *Exhibit 17*, p. 20.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, *Exhibit 8*, p. 15.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *Exhibit 9 and 7*, pp. 14-16.

Perhaps there was collusion among these witnesses and an interested notary public. It seems an odd coincidence that three men, Kiney, Rippetto and Mack Craw, within two days, before the same notary public, A. Wachsmann (who was Bridger's son-in-law and who helped him pursue his claims), swore to the same story after a lapse of twenty-three years. Ellison, in his brief history of Fort Bridger, suggests that the statements of the various people who testified on the question of improvements were not entirely accurate.

"I (Ellison) do not know that Bridger should be held directly responsible for such 'mistakes' (the affidavits filed by Bridger's attorney, Carter, describing the improvements that existed in 1857), as he could neither read nor write and after reading his attorney's statements in the case I prefer to lay the blame upon the latter as I judge he stretched the truth in making them in several instances."³⁶

Government officials apparently questioned these affidavits. On January 25, 1889, Holabird stated that the people who testified some twenty or thirty years after the event that improvements to the value of from \$20,000 to \$30,000 were still standing when General Johnston arrived at Fort Bridger were unquestionably mistaken and must have confused the affairs then existing with those existing before the Mormon destruction. Moreover, Holabird continued, General Johnston in his report to Major J. McDowell, Assistant Adjutant-General, dated November 30, 1857, immediately after his occupation of Fort Bridger asserted that the Mormons before they retreated burned the buildings in and about Fort Bridger, and the only improvement appropriated by the troops was a strong stone wall enclosing a square of 100 feet which was used for storage of the supplies for the army.³⁷ In confirmation of this statement is a letter from Captain Jessie A. Gove who wrote to his wife from the army headquarters at Fort Bridger on November 21, 1857, that when he arrived there all the buildings were burned, but there was still standing a stone wall laid in cement.³⁸ Bridger, in his letter to Butler, admitted that the Mormons destroyed his possessions before the arrival of the United States army.

"Shortly before the so-called Utah expedition, and before the Government troops under General A. S. Johnston arrived near Salt Lake City, I (Bridger) was robbed, and threatened with death by the Mormons, by the direction of Brigham Young, of all my merchandise, stock,—in fact of everything I possessed

³⁶ Ellison, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

³⁷ Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 2, p. 6.

³⁸ Gove to wife, quoted in Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

amounting to more than \$100,000 worth—the buildings in the fort partially destroyed by fire, and I barely escaped with my life.’’³⁹

If Bridger erected improvements valued from \$20,000 to \$30,000, Holabird continued, he would not have been willing to sell his fort and improvements for a sum of \$10,000. The only improvement at Fort Bridger when the United States army arrived, he concluded, was a solid stone wall laid in cement,⁴⁰ which was brought from the States at great expense, and for which the claimant should be paid the just and generous sum of \$6,000.⁴¹ His recommendations were accepted by the Congressional committees on claims in 1892,⁴² but Congressional action thereon was deferred until 1899 at which time Congress awarded the heirs of James Bridger \$6,000 for the stone wall erected by him at Fort Bridger.⁴³

One aspect of this case which was never considered or at least was not mentioned in the Congressional investigations of Bridger’s suit was the claim of the Mormons to have purchased the fort from Bridger in 1855, before the arrival of Federal troops and the signing of the contract between Bridger and the government. This paper would not be complete without examining the basis and evidence of this claim. The evidence for such a sale by Bridger is the following entry in the Mormon Church Historian’s Office Journal, under date of October 18, 1858:

“Louis Vasquez, of the firm of Bridger and Vasquez, executed a bill of sale of Fort Bridger and acknowledged receipt of \$4,000 on August 3, 1855, and \$4,000 this day (October 18,

³⁹ Bridger to Butler, Oct. 27, 1873. Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, Exhibit 5, p. 13.

⁴⁰ The Congressional investigations make no mention of the Mormons in connection with the stone wall. Captain Gove, writing to his wife on Nov. 21, 1857, said that the stone wall laid in cement was built by the Mormons the previous May. Quoted in Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Lieutenant Col. A. Chambers to H. H. Bancroft, Jan. 4, 1855, quoted in *Annals of Wyoming*, Oct. 1927-Jan. 1928, Vol. V, p. 91, states without any proof that after examining the records of Fort Bridger he found that the Mormons built the stone wall.

The “old Mormon wall” is still standing and is so styled. Ellison, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴¹ Sen. Ex. Doc. 86, pp. 1-3.

⁴² See note 26.

⁴³ U. S. Statutes at Large, 55 Cong., 3 Sess., 1899, Vol. XXX, p. 1206.

Dodge in his “Biographical Sketch of James Bridger,” given in full in Alter, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-513 wrote that in 1856, (sic) Bridger had trouble with the Mormons who robbed him of all his property and burned all the buildings in the fort. Despite this admission that improvements at the fort were destroyed before the arrival of the U. S. army, Dodge says that “The improvements were worth a great deal more money (than \$6,000) but after the government took possession it seemed to have virtually ignored the rights of Bridger. . . .”

1858)—also acknowledged before Samuel A. Gilbert, Clerk of Third District Court, that Hiram A. Morrell was his lawfully appointed agent and that he fully approved of the acts and doings of said Morrell in the sale of said property.⁴⁴

At my request, Mr. Glynn Bennion,⁴⁵ a member of the Historian's Office of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, looked for this bill of sale but has not yet been able to find it. He did, however, find a letter from Hebar C. Kimball to Franklin D. Richards in England dated August 31, 1855, in which the following occurs:

“‘The Church has bought out Bridger’s ranch and one hundred head of horned stock, some 7 or 8 horses, some flour and goods that he had, and paid \$8,000 for it, and Mr. Bridger is gone.’ Kimball was Brigham Young’s first counselor in the Presidency of the Church and his letter contained the current Utah news. Richards was the president of the L. D. S. Mission in Great Britain. If the purchase had been made in 1853⁴⁶ it would not have been news to Richards, since he was in Utah at that time.’”⁴⁷

A third item of possible evidence is indicated by the following letter by Bennion:

“Yesterday (Jan. 24, 1940) we found a copy of a letter (there are tons of them, each volume indexed separately and only indexed according to the name of the recipient) from Brigham Young to Lewis Robinson,⁴⁸ dated Aug. 9, 1855, congratulating the latter on having made ‘the deal.’ Robinson’s letter which evoked this compliment evidently was not preserved. On this copy (in the well known hand writing of Brigham’s scribe) the address of Robinson is not given, and the scribe evidently misspelled ‘Bridger’s ranch,’ making it ‘Bridges Ranch’. However, direction is given to sell the flour at two bits a pound and beef at 12 to the passing trains. I (Bennion) feel sure this letter went to Fort Bridger and refers to the purchase of that place, since Robinson was Pres. Young’s agent placed in charge there, and certainly no other place on the emigrant trail having beef cattle and flour was purchased at that time.”⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Quoted in Alter, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

⁴⁵ The author wishes to thank Mr. Glynn Bennion for material which aided in the preparation of the part of this essay relating to the Mormon claim.

⁴⁶ Many secondary writers state without proof that the Mormons purchased the fort from Bridger in 1853.

⁴⁷ Letter of Bennion to author, Jan. 23, 1940.

⁴⁸ He is usually referred to by writers of Western History as Lewis Robinson.

⁴⁹ Bennion to the author, Jan. 25, 1940.

The Mormons evidently believed that they purchased the fort because the War Department wrote to Coutant (date not known) that "The Mormons set up a claim to the land on which the post was located on the ground of a conveyance from James Bridger, who was said to hold a Spanish grant for the same."⁵⁰

We may wonder why Brigham Young was so gullible as to pay the firm of Bridger and Vasquez \$4,000 after the fort was occupied by the United States Government. Mr. Bennion gives the explanation that: "Brigham had made a bona fide deal with Bridger, through Vasquez, and the reputation Brigham bore among friends and foes was that he never reneged on a contract."⁵¹

The entry in the Church Journal referred to above states that the money for the purchase of the fort by the Mormons was paid to Vasquez in two installments, one in 1855 and the other in 1858. Since Bridger was in another part of the country on an expedition with Sir George Gore between 1854 and 1856,⁵² he could not have participated in the sale of Fort Bridger, there-

⁵⁰ Quoted in Coutant, op. cit., p. 352.

By 1873 it was common gossip around Fort Bridger that Bridger had sold the fort to the Mormons. E. A. Curley, special correspondent of the London Field, after visiting Fort Bridger in 1873 and probably interviewing Judge William A. Carter (who was no relation to Bridger's attorney, Charles M. Carter), wrote to his paper the same year as follows:

" . . . at any rate, he (Bridger) so far sophisticated President Brigham Young—who was even then an old bird not easily caught—that he bought out Bridger, who pretended to hold a stretch of thirty miles under a Mexican grant, paying him down \$4,000 for the grant, the shanties and the cattle, and agreeing to pay \$4,000 more at a subsequent time. The place became too hot for the Mormons, they had to leave, and Bridger rented his pretended grant to General A. E. Johnston, of a military post for \$600 a year, on a ten years lease. Taking a copy of this provisional lease, he then journeyed to Salt Lake and succeeded in raising the other \$4,000 from the Mormon prophet. But the contract, to be valid, must be confirmed at Washington. A diligent search revealed the fact that there was no Mexican grant, and that Bridger was kindly obliging the government for a substantial consideration, with a piece of its own property. The bargain consequently fell through, and the post was established without payment of rental, but old Jim had the pleasure of spending the \$8,000. President Young had made repeated applications to have his claim allowed; but, although it is quite as good as many 'another that had passed muster, it is very unlikely that the prophet will ever find profitable his \$8,000 investment in Bridger. He still maintains, however, that he was never so unwise as to be outdone by old Jim, that his deeds are all right in his possession; and that it is nothing but the willful injustice of Uncle Sam that withholds from him this magnificent domain." Curley to London Field, 1873 in report of Wyoming Board of Immigration, 1874, pp. 67-68. Also quoted in Coutant, op. cit., pp. 351-352.

⁵¹ Bennion to the author, Jan. 23, 1940.

⁵² Supra, p. 2.

fore, there is a strong possibility that Vasquez did not share it with Bridger who tried to make up the loss by leasing the fort to the United States Government.

The whole question of ownership of Fort Bridger has been clouded by a dense haze of contradictory and circumstantial evidence presented many years after the sale of the fort was said to have occurred. If the research being conducted by an active Historian's Office produces concrete evidence of a purchase from Bridger then it will be shown conclusively that Bridger attempted to sell to the United States government what he had already sold to the Mormons.

**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY C. G. COUTANT,
PIONEER HISTORIAN, AND HERETOFORE
UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter VI

Laramie County

Erection of First Buildings in Cheyenne—General G. M. Dodge, Engineer for U. P. Railroad—Indian Raids—U. P. Tracks Enter Cheyenne November 13, 1867.

Between the 1st and 10th day of July, 1867, a party of Union Pacific surveyors surveyed and laid out the townsite which was platted and entered eventually by . . . *There is some uncertainty about the erection of the first building in Cheyenne but while several small shanties and portable buildings were put up among the great field of tents and wagons which then dotted the shores of Crow creek the first substantial wooden building erected on the present site of the flourishing City of Cheyenne was built by Judge J. R. Whitehead and its erection was commenced on July 1st, 1867. This building, the material of which had to be cut and hauled from the Foot Hills twenty miles away, at great expense is still standing in an excellent state of preservation on Eddy Street (Pioneer Ave.) in Cheyenne. Across the street and where Ellis' establishment now stands, Judge Whitehead at this time had a tent pitched which served as a temporary home and law office as well. Into this tent on the second day after the erection of the building had been commenced, walked a tall pale faced young man who in-

*Blank space left in manuscript for several lines which Mr. Coutant evidently intended to supply later.

quired for Judge Whitehead. The Judge was there and responded for himself when the young man who had walked nearly all the way from Denver handed him a letter. The letter was from an old friend of Judge Whitehead's in Denver introducing W. W. Corlett and suggesting that it might be a good plan to form a law partnership with him. "Well," said Judge Whitehead, "I am pretty busy just now with other business and if you have a mind to try your hand with me in the law business you can do so. This is my office and here are my books and papers. Pitch in for every thing you see in sight." While the Judge was speaking a party came in who wanted some kind of a paper drawn. Corlett seated himself at the only table in the tent and proceeded to "pitch in." The paper was drawn up in due form for which the young lawyer received two five dollar greenbacks, one of which he handed to Judge Whitehead, keeping the other himself. The law partnership and firm of Corlett and Whitehead, which lasted for some years, was formed then and there. As soon as the survey of the townsite was completed, and even before, the sale of town lots was begun, some of them bringing fabulous prices, the erection of many other buildings, principally along what is now Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eddy, Thomes and O'Neil Streets was at once begun and in a very few days after the completion of the survey (July 10th) the embryo city began to acquire quite a substantial appearance. All kinds of business establishments were opened, between three and four hundred in all, and among them several gambling houses and as many as sixty saloons. Boarding houses and small hotels also began to spring up and among the latter the "Dodge House" near the corner of O'Neil and Eighteenth Streets, which is still standing (1886) and being used as a steam laundry. The population of the city which had been officially christened "Cheyenne" began to be estimated by the thousands long before the season was over and it was made up of men, women and children from nearly every country and clime on the face of the globe. This population was composed of three elements, the active respectable and energetic business men, the transient and the uncertain element which contained many bad characters of both sexes. While it has many times been said and no doubt believed to the contrary, there never was a time in the history of the early days of the "Magic City of the Plains," when the respectable element of its people did not out-number all other classes nearly two to one.

Chapter VII

Laramie County

Cheyenne Continued—The Union Pacific, Dangers Attending Its Construction—Hill and Archer—The Road Completed to Cheyenne—A Track to Fort Russell, etc.

During the time covered by the preceding chapter work was being pushed on the Union Pacific railroad with great and unprecedented vigor and grading parties were operating all along the line between Sidney, the then western terminus of the road, and Cheyenne. Before the first house was built at the last mentioned place the graders were at work in the vicinity of Pine Bluffs, near the eastern boundary of the Territory, and for a considerable distance west of that point. By the time the "City of Tents" began to be transformed into one of wooden buildings there was scarcely a mile along the entire route which was not subjected to the application of the plow, the shovel, and the scraper. This work was done under the general supervision of General G. M. Dodge, the chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad and a man of unusual energy and "push." General Dodge had, however, many subordinates who were not unworthy of their chief, and from them several of the streets of the city were named, such as Ferguson (Carey Ave.), Ransom (Warren Ave.), Eddy, Seymour, Hills (Capitol Ave.), and others, some of whom were not much known, however, to the people of Cheyenne. The work of constructing the road was attended by constant and great danger for it will be remembered by the reader that this was the period when bloody and tragic scenes were being enacted in the northern portion of the country. The Sioux were constantly making invasions and raids into the country lying contiguous to the proposed line of railroad and frequently bloody and sanguinary were the encounters that attended these raids.

In the employ of the Union Pacific at that time were two subordinate civil engineers named William Archer, a paymaster, and James Hill, both of whom had been making Cheyenne their home and had become quite well known to most of the respectable people in the city at that time. On the last day of July, 1867, Messrs. Hill and Archer rode out of the then embryo and chaotic city to the east for the purpose of making an inspection along the line. When near what is now Archer station, six miles east of Cheyenne, they were attacked by a band of mounted Indians—Archer being shot from his horse and terribly wounded, he was left for dead but recovered, though he never was the same man again and his hair turned as white as snow. As the Indians had intervened between Hill and Cheyenne, he put spurs to

his horse and fled in the direction of Pine Bluffs. The Indians overtook, killed and scalped him when near what is now Hillsdale station, thirteen miles from where the pursuit commenced. Archer station was named for one of these victims and not only Hillsdale Station but Hill Street in Cheyenne for the other. Though somewhat later in the season two other incidents illustrating the dangerous proximity of the Sioux to Cheyenne might as well be mentioned here.

In the month of October, the Indians made a raid to the southeast of Cheyenne and taking a turn to the northwest came up to and upon the bluffs south of the city and three of them, more adventurous than the rest, dashed across the creek and rode up to within fifty yards of where the Union Pacific "round-house" now stands. On the same day they drove off several head of stock that had strayed out of the city to the south. Not long after the occurrence last mentioned, two brothers Henry and Ed Hurlbut residents of the city, went out southeast of the city to take a look at the country. Henry Hurlbut, who was at that time a boy of some sixteen or seventeen years of age, had a gun with him, but Ed, who was several years younger, had none. While out nearly three fourths of a mile from the city two dismounted Indians suddenly made their appearance and came toward them apparently with the intention of taking them prisoners, for though armed one with a gun and the other with a bow and arrow they did not fire. Commanding his younger brother to lie flat on the ground, Henry placed himself between him and the Indians and prepared to fire on them. The two savages retraced their steps for a short distance when the two brothers ran for their lives toward the city. Turning, the Indians pursued, when Henry again faced them, his smaller brother lying down as before. Again the Indians hesitated and again the two brothers ran, and this sort of a game was kept up until the two brothers got back so near the city that the Indians dared to pursue them no further and disappeared. Why the two brothers were not fired at can only be accounted for on the ground that the Indians desired to effect their capture or were afraid of alarming the city in which event they would have been in great danger themselves. Through the many dangers and perils which beset the work, grading and track laying was pushed with such energy that on the 13th day of November, 1867, the Union Pacific Railroad track entered Cheyenne amid great rejoicing among all classes. Among the hoodlum element all who had any respect for themselves, of course got drunk, and if a persistent investigation were to be made upon this point it is quite probable that some who were not of the class alluded to, got drunk also.

Early in the following month, a track was laid from Cheyenne to Camp Carlin which had then been permanently established so that not only "The Magic City of the Plains," but the military posts in the vicinity also had full accommodation by rail with the eastern world.

●

NEIGHBORING STATE ASKS QUESTIONS ON SUFFRAGE

The following letter, dated April 1, 1903, from "F. Chatterton,* Secretary of State," (Wyoming), addressed to Hon. Lyle Branch, Senate Chamber, Pierre, South Dakota, was found among the "Coutant Notes" and is in the files of the Wyoming State Historical Department:

"Dear Sir:

Replying to yours of March 30th, with regard to Woman Suffrage, would say that our last Legislature passed a resolution endorsing same, copy of which is enclosed herewith.

In answer to your questions, would say:

1. Question: Do the women take advantage of their rights as voters?

Answer: This office had a census of the voters taken in 1896 and discovered that thirty-two and sixty-two one hundredths per cent of the votes cast were cast by women. This, in the sparsely settled State of Wyoming, would indicate that about the same proportion of women vote as men, in the country districts, and a slightly larger percentage of men in the towns.

2. Question: Does it increase the expense of political campaigns?

Answer: It does. In order to get the vote out, it is necessary to have carriages at all polling precincts in order that the women may vote at convenient times, as it has been found that many of them engaged in household duties cannot spare the time to walk to the polling places.

*Fenimore Chatterton was Acting Governor of Wyoming from April 28, 1903, when Governor DeForest Richards died in office, until January 2, 1905, when Bryant B. Brooks was elected Governor of the State. Mr. Chatterton resides at Arvada, Colorado.

3. Question: Are the conditions of the voting places better?

Answer: The polling places are kept in the best possible condition consistent with the use to which the building, is put, and I would say that more care is taken to keep the polling places clean than if it were used entirely as a voting place for men. Disorderly conduct at the polls is unknown in Wyoming.

4. Question: Does it effect the legislation of your State in regard to saloons and crime?

Answer: The Legislature of 1901 passed a law repealing the law which licensed gambling. This was almost entirely through the efforts of the women of the State.

In regard to the following questions, would say, as Wyoming had equal suffrage both as a Territory and State, there is no basis for comparison. It is possible you can procure this information from the State of Colorado, which has had a female suffrage for the last few years only."

NEW BOOK DISCLOSES ARRAY OF WYOMING WRITERS

"Wyoming Writers," an 87-page book by Eva Floy Wheeler, of Laramie, Wyoming, is one of the valuable literary contributions to the State during Wyoming's observance of her fiftieth anniversary of statehood, this year. Off to a favorable start with a good title which immediately reveals the subject-matter of its contents, the volume is an impressive as well as an illuminating answer to those interested in knowing "who has written what" about Wyoming, and one which stimulates greater pride in and respect for this "Wonderful Wyoming."

More than 250 Wyoming writers, with brief biographical sketches of each, together with description of their work, are listed under the seven headings: Fiction, Children's Literature, Poetry, Drama and Pageantry, Non-Fiction, History and Memoirs, and General Non-Fiction. Names of fame, as well as those less known, appear in their respective classifications.

The attractive book, published by the Douglas Enterprise Company, Douglas, Wyoming, is enclosed in a rustic card-board cover, and its price is \$1.00.

Mrs. Wheeler is the author of "A Bibliography of Wyoming Writers," of which the new book is an expansion, also numerous articles on professional subjects in current publications.

ACCESSIONS

April 1, 1940, to June 30, 1940

MUSEUM**Miscellaneous Gifts**

Morgan, Fred and Edward, 3809 Hawthorne Ave., Richmond, Va.—Six Civil War bullets or "Minnie" balls (named for Capt. Minnie) from site of Battle of the Crater, Petersburg, Va.

Smalley, Mrs. E. J., Cheyenne, Wyoming—An 11-inch light shade from the court chambers of the old court-house, Cheyenne.

Books—Gifts

Spring, Agnes Wright, Cheyenne, Wyoming—How the Oregon Trail Became a Road, by G. W. Martin.

Wheeler, Eva Floy, Laramie, Wyoming—Wyoming Writers, of which donor is the author.

Books—Purchased

McClure, A. K.—Three Thousand Miles Through the Rocky Mountains.

Shankle, G. E.—State names, flags, seals, song, etc.

Men of Wyoming, 1915.

Kearny, Thomas—General Philip Kearny.

Wister, Owen—The Virginian.

Historical Society of Montana—Contributions, Vols. 4 and 9.

Pamphlets—Gifts

Houser, G. O., Cheyenne, Wyoming—A Story of Register Cliff on the Old Oregon Trail, by G. O. Houser, published by The Guernsey Gazette, Guernsey, Wyoming.

Roedel, A. E., Jr., Cheyenne, Wyoming—Five copies of booklet entitled "Brands" published by his late father, A. E. Roedel, Sr., of Cheyenne, 1938.

Burlington Railroad, through R. C. Overton, Chicago, Ill. Four copies "The First Ninety Years." An historical sketch of the Burlington Railroad, 1850-1940.

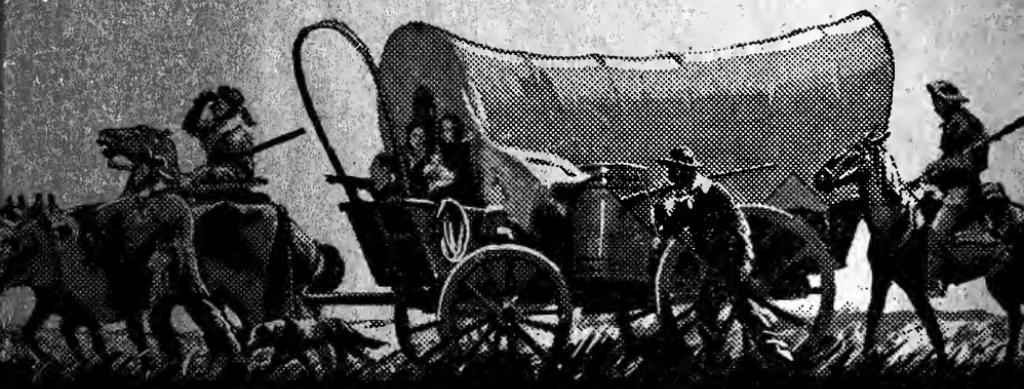
ANNALS of WYOMING

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A HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



THE COURAGEOUS PIONEERS

To Whom the Four Issues of the 1940 Volume of the ANNALS Have Been Dedicated
... in Observance of Wyoming's Golden Anniversary of Statehood



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Cheyenne, Wyoming



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THE WYOMING HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT
GLADYS F. RILEY
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“WONDERFUL WYOMING”

By E. A. Brininstool

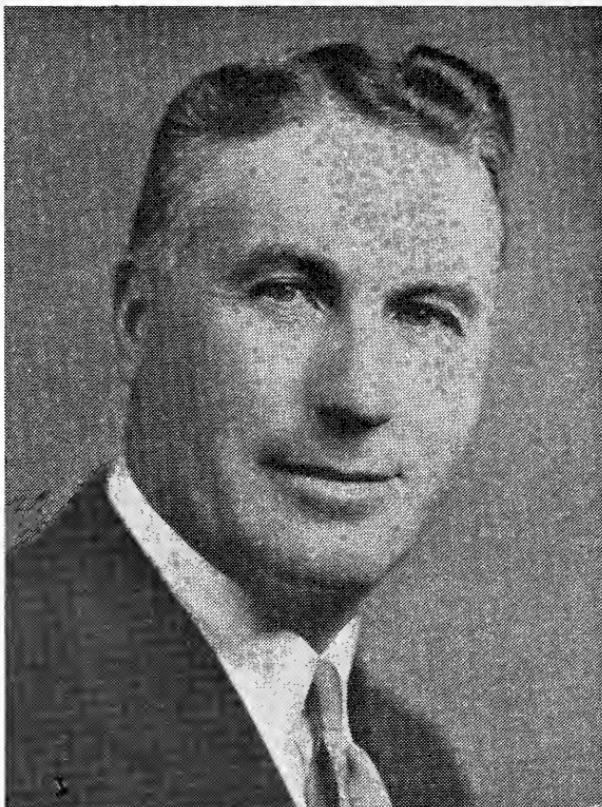
I'll give to you the whole round earth,
And all there is within it—
Just take it all, for what it's worth,
This very blessed minute,
If you will leave me one small spot,
Out there beyond the gloaming—
The only Homeland that I've got—
My Wonderful Wyoming!

'Way up beyond the smoke that palls,
Your peaks rise, white and hoary,
And on the crooning breeze there falls
The music of your glory!
'Tis there my feet would fondly turn,
'Tis there my thoughts go roaming,
As for your peaks and plains I yearn,
My Wonderful Wyoming!

Your wide, free ranges stretch away,
And call and beckon to me;
In all my visions through the day
Your azure skies pursue me.
I long for your wild canyons deep
Where brawling streams go foaming,
Out where the sunset glory creeps,
My Wonderful Wyoming!

For me no spot can quite compare
With your cloud-capped expanses;
I love your rocky ranges there,
Where soft the sunlight glances.
I love your sagebrush-covered plains,
Where mighty herds are roaming,
And every spot where beauty reigns,—
My Wonderful Wyoming!

Your stalwart sons have turned the sod,
And lo! fat fields are gleaming!
Where once fierce tribes of redmen trod,
With progress all is teeming!
I love your skies, so fair and blue,
As softly falls the gloaming,
My heart now fondly turns to you,
Oh, Wonderful Wyoming!



Governor Nels H. Smith

WYOMING'S GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY GOVERNOR

Nels H. Smith, present Governor of Wyoming, was born of sturdy Scandinavian parents on August 27, 1884, at Gayville, South Dakota. He received his elementary education in the public schools of his community, and attended the University of South Dakota, at Vermilion.

His career as a stockman-rancher began in 1905, near Gettysburg, South Dakota, where he remained until the Fall of 1907, when he sold the ranch and came to Wyoming, where he has continued through hard work and thrift, to prosper and increase his holdings in Crook and Weston Counties until he now has become one of the most successful ranchers and cattle-raisers in the State.

In 1911, Mr. Smith and Miss Marie Christensen, a native of Weston County, were married at the ranch home of her parents. Mrs. Smith shares whole-heartedly in all her husband's interests, and she has the distinction of being the

State's first native-born First Lady. Their two sons, Peter F. and Christy K., carry on the traditions of the family and are now managing the ranch while the Governor is occupied with his State duties at the Capital city.

Always public-spirited, Mr. Smith served in the State Legislature, on the Wyoming Highway Commission, and year in and year out, in victory or defeat, he has been a loyal and uncompromising Republican. He is a thirty-second degree Mason and a Shriner.

Nels H. Smith was elected Governor by the people of Wyoming on November 8, 1938, by the largest majority of votes ever accorded a candidate for that office in the State.

To have served the State as its Golden Anniversary Governor has been one of his greatest prides, and none has watched with keener interest than he the news of community observances throughout the State.

Governor Smith has affected a general system of combining and coordinating the various State Departments, which has resulted in greater economy, and at the same time increased efficiency. Some of the outstanding accomplishments during the first part of this Golden Anniversary Administration are the reduction of the Mill Levy Tax to its lowest point in the history of the State; the reduction of the price of gasoline to the consumer; an extremely large saving in the operation of the Highway Department, and at the same time continued improvement in Wyoming highways. More than twenty communities of the State are enjoying the benefits of lower electric rates, and a complete revision of the law relating to the Game and Fish Department was made. This revision eliminated a number of objectionable phases of the then existing law which had been criticized by the courts, and gave greater freedom to the Department, enabling it to operate for the benefit of the State with consideration for the welfare of game and fish resources of the State.

In Governor Smith's message to the twenty-fifth State Legislature, he said: "During the past several months we pledged ourselves to repeal the Sales Tax on foodstuffs. I have always felt, and I feel now, that foodstuffs should be exempt from the Sales Tax. I earnestly urge that Chapter 102, Session Laws of 1937, be amended and reenacted exempting foodstuffs from an excise tax." However, the legislature did not pass the law providing for this revision.

Governor Smith's wholesome and practical attitude toward the affairs of State, his congenial and friendly manner toward all—rich or poor, young or old—who come within the radius of his fine personality, have combined to attract to himself hosts of admirers and followers who take pride in knowing this man as a Good Citizen and a Good Governor.



THE UNIQUE TEXAS TRAIL MONUMENT
on National Highway 20, Lusk, Wyoming, dedicated on August 15, 1940.
Sponsored by the Lusk Lions Club, Wyoming Stock Growers' Association
and stockmen of Eastern Wyoming. Plaque designed by Bill Harwood.
Inscription: "TEXAS TRAIL. Texas to Montana, 1876-1897.
Along this trail passed herds of cattle from distant Texas to replace in
Wyoming and Montana the fast vanishing buffalo and build civilization
on the Northwestern plains. Dedicated by the Historical Landmark
Commission of Wyoming, 1940."

The Texas Trail as Followed by a Pioneer in 1882

By Mrs. George H. Gilland*

FOREWORD

There seems to be a wealth of data concerning the origin, rise and fall of the western cattle industry. Undoubtedly one of the most authentic descriptions extant is that given by Walter Prescott in his valuable book "The Great Plains." From this work, from Anthony Adams "The Log of a Cowboy," from the March, 1926, edition "The Cattleman" and from other sources I have drawn for much of the information submitted in this preface, a subject of too great scope to be more than touched upon here.

Following the Texas Revolution of 1836 and the succeeding border warfare between the Texans and Mexicans, the latter retreated across the Rio Grande, abandoning their ranches and thousands of head of wild Spanish longhorns which thrived and multiplied in the valley of the Neuces, the southernmost end of the Texas cattle range.

The Texas Republic decreed that all abandoned cattle were public property; therefore, many were rounded up by Texans and marked with their own brands, thus practically founding the Texas cattle industry, and gradually establishing some of the largest cattle ranches in North America. Sporadic attempts were made to market them; a drive to Ohio in 1846 is mentioned and another to Chicago ten years later. But while these long-legged, rugged range cattle were capable of enduring a 1,000 or even a 2,000 mile trek they were neither good beefers nor good milkers. A few shipments were made to New Orleans and to Cuba; some beef was furnished the Confederate army during the Civil War; pickled beef was sent to England, but marketing had not become an industry and these wild Texas longhorns, originally natives of Old Mexico and driven across the border over the Rio Grande, increased in southern and western Texas until they threatened to over-run the country.

After the Civil War the South was prostrated, but the rise of large cities in the industrial North created a demand for beef and gave an impetus to Texas cattle drives. In 1865 an animal worth four or five dollars in Texas sold for forty or fifty dollars in the North; hence the effort to "connect a four dollar cow with a forty dollar market." Thus the first

*See biographical sketch of Mrs. Gilland in ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 11, No. 4, October, 1939, p. 254.

link was forged in re-establishing economic relations between the North and South after the war.

One of the first two herds driven from Texas to Wyoming in the late '60's was sold to Mr. Iliff of Colorado, who turned them on his range southeast of Cheyenne. The first shipment of beef from Cheyenne was made in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian war by a Mr. Pritchard, who bought H. B. Kelly's work cattle for \$70 per head and sold them in Paris for beef for about \$150.

The tales which drifted across the Atlantic concerning the immensity of the open range between the Rio Grande and the Mexican border excited the curiosity of English and Scotch capitalists, some of whom, among them lords and earls, came over not only to investigate but to invest. Large companies were formed and it was claimed that by 1882 \$30,000,000 had been invested by foreign interests in ranches and stock on the western plains, the stock usually purchased in Texas and New Mexico and trailed north. The first herds were driven up over pathless ground, but as herd followed herd, "trails" were made, named and nameless, the most notorious of which was the Chisholm which is said to have wended its way by Fort Worth, Wichita and Abilene and became the most popular trail in song and story. But its identity seems to have merged with others as the multiplicity of herds, both large and small, in search of feed, made new trails or crossed the old until they were finally embraced in the all-inclusive title of "The Texas Trail."

In the early days of the industry as St. Louis and towns east developed demands for western cattle, it became necessary to establish shipping points where trails from the South met the several railroads which by 1866 and later, had crossed the Mississippi River and reached the Great Plains. Salina, Kansas, seems to have been the first shipping point to the East, then, as the railroads pushed westward, Abilene, Wichita and Dodge City, where eastern buyer could bargain with western seller. Cattle which reached shipping points unfit for market or which failed to find buyers were often placed on ranches to be fattened. And so the cattle kingdom spread from southern Texas to and over the Great Plains with its free and nutritious grasses until the growth of the ranch and range industry within fifteen years was phenomenal.

But reverses came. The financial panic of 1873 was weathered and by '76 the market was recovering. The up-trend extended into the boom of the early '80's and by '85 the peak of the cattle industry was reached. Ranges had been overstocked; the homestead law passed in '62 had, in

the ensuing years, brought in settlers who staked out claims on the heretofore public domain and following the invention of barbed wire in 1874 many claims as well as additional range were fenced. The time when cattle outfits such as the Converse Company could run a herd of 30,000 or 40,000 head on free range was passing. Texas cattle, while hardy on the trail, were often unable to withstand the severity of northern winters and perished by thousands. The winter of '86 was a bitter one, the succeeding summer dry and many stockmen, native and foreign, lost their entire herds. Among the few companies to survive was the Swan Land and Cattle Company.

And what of the men and boys, the "Cowboys" who helped to build up this gigantic range and cattle business on so huge a scale that its ramifications reached afar? But for whom in fact it could not have existed. Who, often at the risk of their lives, took charge of the cattle from the time they left their native haunts on and on to the end of the trail.

When in the early days, the Texans settled in the Colorado River valley, they had to learn a method of horsemanship and of carrying arms that "placed them on a footing with the Mexicans and Plains Indians;" also as a protection from the wild Texas cattle, many of which were said to have been as dangerous as beasts of prey and when attempting to round them up no man was safe without his revolver since sometimes only his dexterity in drawing it saved his life from a charging steer. Thus it was that the cattlemen and cowboys of the period grew up with a knowledge of handling cattle, meeting emergencies and "roughing it" born of experience—a wild and dangerous life in a wild and dangerous environment.

Small wonder then that, as Mr. Webb says, "The Easterner with his background of forest and farm was often at a loss to understand the men of the cattle kingdom; one went on foot, the other on horseback; one carried his law in books, the other carried it strapped around his waist;—one responded to convention, the other to necessity and evolved his own conventions"—"in the East a farm—perhaps 10,000 farms—will each have six or seven cows and as many calves. They attract no attention; are incidents of agriculture. In the West a ranch will cover the same area as 10,000 farms and will perhaps have 10,000 head of cattle, with roundups, rodeos, men on horseback and all that goes with ranching—men in boots and jingling spurs; big hats and frisky horses; camp cook and horse wrangler; profanity and huge appetites"—

"The East did a large business on a small scale; the West did a small business magnificently."

And the glamour lured young men from the East who came out to exchange the prosaic life of farm, factory or college for the danger and excitement of the western range. Some failed to make the grade, others, notably those with a rugged New England background, remained to make good and to be included among the West's most substantial citizens.

Among the latter was George Henry Gilland who was born in the village of Fairfax, Vermont, on the 8th of May, 1856. He was the sixth of nine children, three of whom were born in Ireland before the parents emigrated to this country in 1849. Of those three two died in infancy. The father, Samuel Gillilan—as the name was spelled in Ireland—had raised a family of five children by his first wife, all of whom emigrated to Vermont, that rugged state which has imparted so many of its sturdy characteristics to its sons.

Wresting a living from the rocky New England soil was a perpetual struggle and like the majority of children in those parts the young Gillands worked at odd jobs to help supply the family larder and to earn the one pair of shoes that must serve to cover their feet during the long, bitter winter. But in those days shoes were made to last, with their heavy soles, copper toes and calf-skin uppers. At the age of twelve and fourteen respectively, George and his brother John walked two miles from home to cut cord wood at fifty cents per cord. An experienced man could cut two cords a day; a boy half a cord. Thus the combined daily wage of the two boys averaged fifty cents and this only when conditions were favorable, for now and then a tree, in falling, would bury itself in the snow and much time was lost in digging it out. The boys took their pay in trade, sometimes a barrel of flour at fourteen dollars a barrel. Think of it, ye boys of today, swinging an axe twenty-eight days or more to pay for ninety-six pounds of flour. In the spring they worked in the maple sugar bush, the "Sugar Season" opening when the sap began to run, usually the last of March or first of April and lasting from four to six weeks. But they had their good times too—at the "old swimming hole," corn huskings, spelling bees and out-of-door sports.

In this environment of hard work, simple pleasures and such education as the village school afforded, the young Gillands grew to the age of fifteen when each in turn was considered old enough to become an independent unit in the battle of life. Desiring to see something of the world and having, before reaching his majority, saved one hundred and fifty dollars, a goodly sum for one of his age in that locality,

in April, 1877, George followed his friend, Charles Rugg, to Egbert, Wyoming. Soon after his arrival at the Rugg ranch on the Muddy, south of Egbert, he made the acquaintance of my father, Alonzo Martin, who owned the UC ranch farther up the valley, became associated with him and there remained for thirty years. With New England frugality he saved his money and invested in cattle.

He and father desired to increase their herds and in the spring of 1882 George went by train to Dallas, Texas, to purchase cattle for himself, father, Whiffen and Calkins and a Mr. Griffen of Iowa who had made arrangements to run their herds on father's range.

At Gainsville, Texas, he met Mr. Whiffen by prearrangement and together they attended the three-days meeting of the Texas Stock Growers Association, made interesting by the presence of all the largest cattle owners of the state. Hearing of several herds for sale, they went from Dallas to Fort Worth to which place George had shipped branding irons, as all cattle before taking the trail were marked with the owner's or a road brand, in this case the owner's.

While inspecting herds and talking with trail bosses George took occasion to learn something about the ethics of the trail—unwritten laws, the observance of which might save trouble and annoyance. For example, no herd approved another herd attempting to pass it without good reason. Nor should a herd trespass on range already occupied. The long experience of old trailers had taught them that if cattle were well fed and watered before bedding down at night they were less likely to stampede. In the early days of Texas drives, trailers had to break the trails, ward off Indian attacks and watch for buffaloes, for nothing would start a stampede more quickly than a charging buffalo herd. By '82 these hazards were minimized but there were enough other obstacles to be encountered to keep a trail boss and his riders constantly on the alert.

At Dallas, George bought 1,500 head of one and two year old steers. Leaving them there he and Mr. Whiffen returned to Fort Worth to assemble their outfit. This consisted of forty head of horses, half of them broken to ride and the rest only halter broken; two teams of mules, a mess wagon for which he made a box to fit into the back, with a drop door for a table and compartments for cooking utensils and small provisions, also a large box in which to carry and keep dry staple provisions such as flour, coffee, sugar, etc. He then hired a cook, a very important asset since a range outfit like an army must be well fed. Eight riders were then

engaged, two of them colored men. Two of the white men, Caraco and Whitehead, admitted that they knew nothing about riding but wanted the experience of the trail. They made good. Saddles, bridles and blankets too were purchased, also bedding for altho' it was customary for a rider to supply his own outfit the majority of these men were financially "broke." To quote Mr. Gilland:

"With our outfit complete we went into camp to break the saddle horses which were only "haltered" and a lively week ensued. But they were finally subdued and we returned to the ranch below Dallas to receive our cattle which were then ready to be turned over to us. This required a ten-day journey over narrow roads, through mud knee deep and rain which fell daily. Arriving at the ranch several days were consumed in branding the cattle. . . . In this work we were assisted by the eight riders of the ranch who also went with us the first ten days of our northward march.

"We left with our herd on the morning of April 20th, traveling first through a well settled country over narrow, ungraded roads poorly fenced, which gave us much trouble. The first night we camped on the banks of a small, muddy creek lined with trees and brush. Including the men from the ranch we had sixteen riders. We bedded down in the only place available but the yearlings were determined to go back home to their mothers, and it was midnight before all became quiet. We then called "relief guard" and turned in, but I first took the precaution to tie my pony, saddled, to the wheel of the wagon nearby to be prepared in case of emergency. And the emergency came for almost immediately I heard the cattle start. The two Kentuckians were sleeping beside me in a tent with an opening in each end, the flaps turned back, for the night was warm. When I shouted 'The cattle are coming' and they saw through one of the tent doors the onrush of the herd, they dashed out the other for a tree on the creek bank, but one of them missed his footing and plunged headlong over the edge. The charging cattle however, divided and swept around instead of over the camp, so no harm was done. By this time the men were all in the saddle, the Kentuckians in their pajamas (for being tender-feet they still slept in their 'nighties') but it was long after daylight before the frightened animals were under control. The following night they were quiet until nearly morning when their attempted stampede was quickly checked. That day the ranch riders left us and went back.

We were still in a farming country and could find no place to feed our cattle until we reached the small town of

St. Joe, where we had our last stampede. Rain was falling, the night so dark that no object could be seen and the cattle scattered in the brush. The men were all mounted but knowing that search was futile I called them together and sent them to bed until daylight, when we started forth. One of the men had become lost in the darkness and came in the next morning with two hundred head. The ground was soft and we could easily trail the cattle. One of the darkies, Hamm Harris, and I trailed a bunch down a lane to a farm where we found it shut up in a corral with a dozen men lined up on the fence. The spokesman hailed me with, 'Are these your cattle?' When I replied in the affirmative he declared he had found them in his cornfield where they had done much damage. 'We'll go and see,' I replied. There had been cattle in the field but the tracks were not fresh ones. Moreover, I told him that we had trailed my cattle direct to his corral, but he demanded fifty dollars to release them. Without further ado I told Hamm to open the gate (we were both armed) and I drove the cattle out followed only by the direful threats of the farmer. Later, one of the men who had witnessed the affair came to our camp and told us that the farmer was also a self-styled preacher of St. Joe who left his fence down purposely and had already collected toll several times that season for purported damage done to his corn.

Upon counting our herd we found we were fourteen head short. As feed was scarce we went on to the Red River, an eighteen mile drive through cross timber, and stayed there that night. Early the next morning we moved our herd down to the crossing ahead of the other trail herds which, however, soon caught up. The Red was a dangerous river to cross and took toll of many lives, both of men and cattle. The water was swift and high and our cattle refused to cross, the current catching them and milling them around. The boys of the other herds joined us and we soon had a force of fifty men at work but to no avail. Then we drove the horses in ahead thinking the cattle would follow but that, too, failed. After bringing the cattle back we again started them across, I swam behind with a lariat, lassoed a steer around the neck and started with him after the horses; his bawling attracted the rest of the herd which followed without further trouble. Two miles beyond the river we went into camp for two days to let the cattle rest and graze, as the feed was good. Two men were sent back from there, found the fourteen head lost at St. Joe and caught up with us two days later.

Up to this time Mr. Whiffen had been with us. He now decided to return to Gainesville and take a train for Rock-

ford, Illinois, his home. But before he left he had an experience that was amusing, at least to the rest of us. One morning we saddled and mounted in the rain. Pinto, a pony to which Mr. Whiffen had become attached and which he always rode, seemed to object to his yellow slicker and when urged to start humped his back and refused to move. Mr. Whiffen then spoke to him coaxingly and patted him on the neck, at the same time touching him gently with his spurs, whereupon Pinto thrust his head down and gave one tremendous 'buck' into the air, landing Mr. Whiffen on his back in the mud. Getting up he looked disgustedly at the pony, then standing perfectly still, and exclaimed, 'These cussed brutes won't stand petting, will they!'

We were now in the Indian Territory, afterward Oklahoma, and passed through the Arapaho and Chickasha Nations. While not unfriendly they were inveterate beggars and therefore annoying. Often they would present a request from their agent for a dole of beef or a few head of cattle in payment for the privilege of grazing our herd across their land although the trail was an open one. This we sometimes granted, giving them a crippled animal unable to keep up with the rest.

We were now in open country with plenty of feed but with four rivers to cross—the Washita, the south and north branches of the Canadian and the Cimarron. The Washita offered no difficulties but when we reached the South Canadian we were detained twenty-four hours by a flood which caused it to overflow its banks; when this subsided we crossed without much difficulty. The north branch was dry and its wide bed of alkali deposits could be seen for miles, glistening white in the sun like snow. The Cimarron was wide but the cattle had become trail broken and were not afraid to cross, so we reached Dodge City in southeastern Kansas without further incident.

Dodge City was then the delivery point (the half way point) for many herds going north, and we found fully fifty thousand head there before us. Leaving our herd in charge of some of the men the rest of us went into town to purchase supplies and to get our mules shod. When returning to camp we were caught in a terrific rain and hail storm which lasted all night, and fearing our cattle would get mixed with the other herds we rode around them all night without stopping to eat or sleep. Our reward came in the morning when we counted our cattle, for not one was missing while many of the other herds were badly mixed.

The main trail after crossing the Arkansas at Dodge City, led to Julesburg, Colorado, but as this was about one hundred and forty miles east of our destination in Wyoming I decided upon a more direct route. Therefore, instead of crossing the river here we followed it on the south side in a north-westerly direction. On the second day out one of our men, Mr. Wallace, who had become homesick, wanted to return to Texas. Almost opposite our camp but on the north side of the river was Pierceville, a station on the Santa Fe railroad, but there was no bridge, the river, a quarter of a mile wide, was in flood, running bank high and the muddy, foaming, seething water reminded me of the cauldrons of boiling soft soap I had seen on Vermont farms in my youth. But I told Mr. Wallace if one of the boys would swim across with him to bring his horse back, he might go. No one volunteered, however, and taking pity on his distress I piloted him over. We rode to the edge of the bank and after repeated urgings my horse plunged in, going so far beneath the surface that I was submerged to my neck. Coming up, he struck out for the other side, Mr. Wallace following on his mount, but the swift current carried us quite a distance down stream. We crossed without once touching bottom until near the bank; as this was too steep for our horses to climb we jumped off and led them to lower ground. Leaving my companion at Pierceville I found a shallower crossing and returned to camp with both horses in safety. (After reaching Wyoming I received a letter of thanks from Mr. Wallace.)

We continued our course on the south side of the Arkansas until we reached Granada on the Colorado boundary. Here we attempted to drive the cattle across to the north side but the river was still very high and they refused to go in. At this point there was a combination rail and wagon bridge guarded by a watchman in a cabin. In reply to my inquiry he said no regular trains were due for two hours, and that while he had no orders to prevent a herd from crossing, we would do so at our own risk. Returning to the herd I strung the horses out in the lead, drove them onto the bridge, some of the cattle followed them and the rest plunged into the river beside and under the bridge and the crossing was accomplished without mishap.

We had left Oklahoma behind and after crossing the Big Sandy in eastern Colorado we followed it up to Kit Carson on the Kansas Pacific, thence to River Bend where we left the railroad, down Beaver Creek to the present site of Brush, and crossed the South Platte river at Snyder Station on the Julesburg branch of the Union Pacific. I was now back on my old range where I knew every spring and water hole. From there we passed Hunter's Lake, South Pawnee Creek and Wild Horse

Corral to Grover, thence up Crow Creek to our camp at the Beaver Dams in Wyoming, two miles from Arcola and ten miles south of the Muddy. Thus ended an interesting but the hardest experience of my life."

Mr. Gilland now returned to the UC ranch on the Muddy of which he continued in charge. In the fall of '83 Mr. Martin moved his family to Cheyenne. Two years later George Gilland came up and in November ('85) he and I, then Cora Belle Martin, were married by the Reverend C. M. Sanders, pastor of the Congregational church, and began housekeeping in the house George had built at 408 West 23rd street which still stands. Father then went back to the ranch. But his health was failing and the following year by his request we moved to the ranch, Father and family to town.

After Father's death here in 1889, George bought the ranch and it was there that our four children spent much of their early life altho' they were all born in Cheyenne and attended high school there before dispersing to complete their college, business or university education, according to individual choice.

By the turn of the century the dry farming craze had reached our vicinity on the Muddy, to the displeasure of the stockmen who needed the range. Partly on this account we sold the ranch in 1907 to the Federal Land and Cattle Company of Iowa, the stock and equipment to other parties and moved to town to remain.

In 1909 we bought our present home at 2116 Carey Ave., then Ferguson street, built in the '80's by George Draper and successively owned by N. R. Davis and the Episcopal Church which used it as a rectory at the time of our purchase. Here our three daughters were married—Ida to Dr. Galen A. Fox of Cheyenne, Vera (now deceased) to Bruce S. Jones of Cheyenne, and Helen to Dr. Robert C. Shanklin, then of South Bend, Indiana but now retired from practice and living in Chicago where George Jr. and his wife also live.

During his thirty years residence on the UC ranch near Egbert, Wyoming, George Henry Gilland was always a leading spirit in the community, serving on the school board, several times elected to the Republican county convention at Cheyenne, and in May, 1892, sent as a delegate to the State convention there, called to elect delegates to the National convention at Minneapolis in June. In 1902 he was elected to the state legislature; in 1904 was a delegate to the state convention at Casper

and in 1911 served again as a representative in the legislature, this time from Cheyenne.

After his inception into the Blue Lodge in 1902 Mr. Gilland took an active and prominent part in Masonry. He became a member of Cheyenne Lodge No. 1, A. F. and A. M.; Past High Priest of Wyoming Chapter No. 1; Member of the Order of High Priesthood, Wyoming; Past Commander of Wyoming Commandery, No. 1; Past Master of Kadosh, Wyoming Consistory, No. 1; Knight Commander of the Court of Honor, 33rd degree Honorary and a Shriner of Korean Temple, Rawlins. He was also Almoner of Consistory No. 1 and Treasurer of the Scottish Rite Fund. He belonged to Surat Grotto, to B.P.O.E. Lodge No. 660 and to the Cheyenne Country Club; was a water commissioner of District No. 1 and an appraiser for the State Land Board.

In 1924 came business reverses and following years of strenuous effort to recuperate, Mr. Gilland's once vigorous health gave way. The death of our daughter, Vera, December 4, 1930, was the final blow and three years later, on the first of December, 1933, he too passed away, loved and honored by all who knew him for his business integrity, courageous perseverance in the face of difficulty and his loyalty to family, friends and ideals.

“SOCIETY” DISAPPEARING

(From The Wyoming Commonwealth, Cheyenne, Wyoming, December, 1891.)

In this democratic Nineteenth century “society,” in the old and aristocratic sense of the term, is disappearing. People of a certain class and certain means do certain things at certain times because other people of the same class and the same means do likewise. There is a universal tendency toward the equalization of luxury and of the exterior manifestations of refinement. Social habits are formed on the models established by two or three great centers of civilization, and all the life that you find elsewhere is a more or less pale reflection of the real article. With the increase of facilities of communication, originality of all kinds decreases, and the search for local color becomes more and more hopeless.—*Theodore Child in Harper's*.

The least act of the most unlettered Pioneer toward molding an untamed wilderness into a glorious commonwealth, is worthy of the highest mark of respect by each succeeding generation.



STATE GOVERNORS

(Top, left to right): Frank E. Lucas—October 2, 1924-January 5, 1925;
Frank C. Emerson—January 3, 1927-February 18, 1931 (Died in office);
(Center): Nellie Tayloe Ross—January 5, 1925-January 3, 1927; (Bottom):
Alonzo M. Clark—(Acting) February 18, 1931-January 2, 1933;
Leslie A. Miller, January 2, 1933-January 2, 1939.

GOVERNORS OF THE STATE OF WYOMING**By Harry B. Henderson, Sr.*****Article V****Frank E. Lucas**

Frank E. Lucas was born at Grant City, Missouri, in 1876. He was educated in the public schools at Bedford, Iowa. Early in life he served an apprenticeship in the printing trade at Des Moines, Iowa, and became a newspaper publisher in that State.

Mr. Lucas transferred his residence to Wyoming in 1899, locating at Buffalo, the County seat of Johnson County. He acquired the Buffalo Bulletin, became and is its editor and publisher. His paper is regarded as one of the best publications of the State.

After having served his constituents as a member of the House and Senate of Wyoming, he became a candidate and was nominated for and elected to the office of Secretary of State in 1922.

During the Legislative Session of 1923 he urged, recommended and secured constructive legislation relating to the Secretary of State's office.

Upon the death of Governor William B. Ross, October 2, 1924, Mr. Lucas automatically became acting Governor of Wyoming.

Governor Lucas at once took over the duties of the executive office and administered them with fidelity, to January 2, 1925, when the Governor-elect was inducted into office. Inasmuch as the duty of preparing a message to the Legislature was not incumbent upon him, no state paper was presented. His management and administration of public affairs during his brief term as Acting Governor was most creditable. Upon the qualifications of his successor, Mr. Lucas again returned to the duties of his office as Secretary of State, completing his term.

Mr. Lucas was married to Ina B. Craven of Lynnville, Iowa, in 1886, they have two children.

The Lucas family has continued to reside at Buffalo and are counted among the honored and highly esteemed citizens of Johnson County and the State.

*A biographical sketch of Mr. Henderson appears in the ANNALS OF WYOMING, Vol. 11, No. 4, October, 1939, with the first of this series of five articles on Wyoming Territorial and State Governors being written especially for this publication.

Nellie Tayloe Ross

Nellie Tayloe Ross, the first Woman Governor of a Sovereign State to be elected and inducted into office in the United States, was the widow of Governor William B. Ross who died in the second year of his term of office. Subsequent to her husband's death she was nominated by the State Central Committee of her political party and at the election held in November, 1924 was selected by the people to be the Chief Executive of the State for the ensuing two years.

Mrs. Ross was elected to the office of Governor November 4, 1924 and took the oath of office January 5, 1925. While Mrs. Ross was tactful, charming in manner and easy of approach, yet her election was influenced in a measure by reason of the sympathy which went out to her because of her bereavement and further, because she was the nominee for Governor in the First Woman Suffrage State.

Mrs. Ross had been a resident of the State of Wyoming for more than twenty years, coming as a bride in 1902. She was interested in making a good home for her husband and the proper raising of her three splendid sons. It was not until after her husband had been elected Governor that she took an interest in politics and public affairs.

While Mrs. Ross lacked executive experience, yet she gained an insight into state affairs that was most creditable.

In the introductory paragraph of her Message to the Eighteenth Legislature she said: "The contemplation of duty moves me to a declaration of humility with which I approach the obligations of the high office which has been committed to me, and of my hope that God may give me wisdom and direct my mind and heart in the discharge of all my official duties."

In her message Mrs. Ross called attention to recommendations to the Seventeenth Legislature, made by her deceased husband, Governor William B. Ross, and urged that his policies be continued. That the "pay as you go" system in effect should continue. She urged that property values be equalized so that the tax burden should be proportionately upon all. "Tax reduction is generally recognized as the most pressing problem. . . . The time has come in many localities when farm taxes equal or surpass the very income from the land itself. The excessive cost of government is becoming a restraint on individual enterprise. Such a condition cannot be prolonged with safety. The State has made an extraordinary record of economy and tax reduction, which had it been followed by local taxing bodies, would have lowered the tax bill of every taxpayer in the state. . . .

Public opinion must be directed toward the control of local expenditures."

Reference is made in the message to "Interstate streams defense" and that negotiations were in progress in Wyoming, Nebraska and Colorado for the purpose of effecting a compact as to the use of the waters of the North Platte River. Many other problems were discussed in the document, deemed pertinent to Wyoming advancement.

The message is generally comparable with the utterances of other Governors and is the first State document from a woman Governor.

Mrs. Ross after her retirement from the Governor's office continued her interest in public affairs and politics. She was elected in 1928 National Vice Chairman of the Democratic Party Organization and took an active part in the campaign of that year. She continued as an Executive officer of her party and was active in its management in the years following and upon the election of President Roosevelt was appointed Superintendent of the United States Mint. The duties of this position have been performed with dignity and fidelity.

While Mrs. Ross has been active in political affairs for the past fifteen years, yet she has not lost her gracious manner or held herself aloof from the friends she met, learned to know and love during the years preceding her public career.

Frank C. Emerson

Frank C. Emerson was governor of Wyoming from January 3, 1927 to February 18, 1931, the date of his death.

Mr. Emerson was born May 26, 1882 at Saginaw, Michigan. He was educated in the schools of his city and the University of Michigan. He came to Wyoming in 1904, locating at Cora on New Fork in what is now Sublette County, and engaged in merchandising but that was not his forte. In 1905 he was appointed to an engineering position in the State Engineer's office at Cheyenne. Upon the opening of a portion of the Shoshone Indian Reservation, Mr. Emerson was placed in charge of locating irrigation canals in the district. Thereafter he directed his efforts in the construction of irrigation projects in the Big Horn Basin, particularly in the Shell Creek and Worland localities. He was regarded highly as an Irrigation Engineer, and was a valuable man to the Basin Country, not only as a citizen but as an adviser in Irrigation Canal building, and also in the building of drainage systems.

He was appointed State Engineer in 1919 and became a member of the Colorado River Commission for allocating the

waters of the Colorado River and its tributaries among the seven mountain states constituting the water shed.

Mr. Emerson was nominated to the office of and elected Governor in 1926 taking the oath of office on the first Monday of January 1927, and was re-elected in 1930.

By virtue of his having been engaged in the development of State resources Governor Emerson brought to the office a knowledge of the physical and economic conditions in the State.

In his message of January 1927 he said:

“In arriving at my recommendations as to appropriations, I have been ruled by the consideration of the utmost economy consistent with efficiency in administration in order that the tax burden may not be increased . . . It is essential that sufficient amounts of money be allowed for . . . the different offices and departments of State which vitally concern the business and industry of Wyoming. . . . Offices, Departments and Institutions have presented requests for appropriations in excess of the amounts made available for their use heretofore and each from its viewpoint impressed with the necessity for more money if its operations are to be carried on to the best advantage. The necessity of sound judgment in arriving at a conclusion as to appropriations is therefore apparent.”

“There are certain economies that may be effected by assigning to present established agencies, duties now performed by special officers or departments.”

A comprehensive program of highway construction covering a period of years is heartily endorsed.

Legislation designed to provide pensions for the unfortunate who have reached old age is urged. “A law can be drafted that will cause only nominal financial demand upon the State. The benefits to be derived would appear to more than offset any outlay of money.

“The Interstate Commission is still engaged upon its deliberations in relation to a compact between the States of Colorado, Nebraska and Wyoming.”

“Recommendations have been made concerning those things that in my mind bear promise of definite results in relation to the prosperity of Wyoming.”

Governor Emerson in his message to the Twentieth State Legislature in January, 1929 reiterates some of the recommendations made by him in 1927.

He referred to economics and said “while we may recognize the wisdom of the increases proposed in the budget we still have to foot the bill. How this is to be done without

increase in taxes is the question. Two ways are open, cut down expenses of operation and increase the revenues."

The following subjects are ably discussed in the message:

Consolidation of the Department of Agriculture and the livestock boards, the Commissioner of Child and Animal Protection, the Board of Charities and Reform, and the State Veterinarian. Collection of property taxes; taxation of intangible securities, the land leasing system, farm loans, secondary highways and a bond issue for their construction.

In fact all the subjects presented were of great importance to the progress and economic interests of Wyoming.

Governor Emerson was an ardent advocate of the movement in the Public Land States for the ceding of the public domain to such states. He was recognized as an authority upon public land questions and inter-state stream adjustments.

Mr. Emerson and Miss Zennia Reynders of Michigan were married January 17, 1910 and at once established their home in the Big Horn Basin. Three fine boys now grown to manhood were born in the family. Mr. Emerson was a deeply religious man. He was an active member of the Baptist Church in his young manhood and brought that membership and Church activity to Wyoming, into his home, business and political life. He also had membership in the American Society of Civil Engineers.

Governor Emerson took the duties of his job seriously. He was an untiring worker. The responsibilities of his office and the further fact that the Legislative period brought additional work, weakened his physical condition, he fell sick and on Wednesday night, February 8, 1931, four days before Legislative adjournment, he passed away.

In the passing of Governor Emerson, Wyoming people lost a wise counsellor, citizen and friend.

Alonzo M. Clark

Upon the death of Governor Frank C. Emerson, Alonzo M. Clark, Secretary of State, became, under the provisions of the State Constitution, Acting Governor, February 18, 1931.

Mr. Clark was born in Steuben County, Indiana, August 13, 1868. He established his home in Crook County, Wyoming, in 1901 by homesteading 320 acres of land. He taught school for many years in Crook, Converse and Niobrara Counties. Subsequent to the creation of Campbell County he was County Clerk and Clerk of Court of that county for several years.

In 1926 Mr. Clark was elected Secretary of State and re-elected in 1930. It was while serving his second term that

Governor Emerson passed away, and he was automatically ushered into the office and became acting governor.

Governor Clark necessarily assumed large responsibilities in taking up the duty of governor. The legislature had four days in which to complete its session. Many bills had been enacted and were awaiting the signature of the governor and there was also important legislation pending, all of which enacted bills were placed on the Acting Governor's desk for consideration, approval or rejection.

Governor Clark took up the task of analyzing the Legislative Acts before him, giving approval to such as in his judgment would be beneficial to the State. He entered actively into the administration of State affairs—acquainted himself with the responsibilities of Governor, and discharged the duties of the office with efficiency and dignity. He retired from office upon the qualification of the Governor on the First Monday of January, 1933.

Governor Clark and his good wife have continued to live in Cheyenne since his retirement from office.

Leslie A. Miller

Leslie A. Miller was, at the November election in 1932, elected to the office of Governor for the unexpired term of Governor Frank C. Emerson, deceased, and took the oath of office January 2, 1933. He was again elected Governor at the November election in 1934, and was inaugurated on the first Monday in January, 1935—serving for the full term of four years; retiring from office on the first Monday in January, 1939.

Mr. Miller was born at Junction City, Kansas, January 29, 1886. While yet a young child, he was brought by his parents to Laramie where they established their home. He grew up in Laramie—was educated in the schools of that city—worked for the Union Pacific Railroad Company for about two years, and then entered the employ of his father who was engaged in the mercantile business. During such employment he became interested in politics and was elected in 1910 to the House of the Wyoming Legislature. He was subsequently elected to the House in 1922 and to the State Senate in 1928. After the close of the Legislative Session in 1911 he transferred his residence to Cheyenne and was employed by the State Land Department.

Mr. Miller was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for Wyoming. Upon his Federal Service being terminated he gave personal attention to his business as an oil distributor and incorporated the Chief Oil Company.

His observations and experience in public life led him to seek the position of Governor.

Governor Miller in preparing the budget in 1932 had the advantage of the research work of the Tax Payers League of which he was a member and was able to present to the Legislature a program looking toward decreasing the expense of State Administration and yet rendering more efficiency.

In his message to the twenty-second State Legislature he said:

"We are all agreed that economy in State expenditures is absolutely necessary. This necessity extends to all political subdivisions. Extravagances must first be eliminated, cut the expenses next. I am asking practically every department of the State to curtail ordinary running expenses.

"Attention is called to the default in interest on State Land Board investments and request made for remedial measures. Suggestion is made that on defaulted Land Board loans, the State is entitled to at least the landlord's share of crop production. Reduction of salary of office and employees of the State, in a reasonable amount is urged.

"I have concluded I will not take up my residence in the Executive mansion during my present term, thereby saving the State the expense of maintenance."

The recommendation is made to reduce allowances on mileage of privately owned automobiles used by State officers and employees. Also that State owned cars be pooled and furnished upon requisition only.

Governor Miller urged the consolidation of certain governmental subdivisions, the abolition of other departments. He also urged members of the Legislature to give careful thought to the several State institutions and provide for their administration upon lines that offered the best results.

He recommended a study of the price of gasoline in order to prevent discrimination against the citizens of Wyoming.

Governor Miller offered a supplementary message to the Legislature upon the subject of tax relief. He urged that the legislature should, by proper resolution, provide for a committee to study the entire tax structure of the State.

Perhaps the most important legislation of the twenty-second state legislature was the Bill providing a way by which the overdraft on the general fund of the State could be paid. This Bill became Chapter 124 of the Laws of 1933.

Governor Miller in his message to the twenty-third State Legislature discussed at length the subject of sales tax, old age pensions, unemployment insurance—experiment farm expenses, the highway department, what to do with the gambling

problem and liquor control. Many of these subjects were favorably considered by the Legislature and Laws relating thereto were enacted.

In his message to the twenty-fourth State Legislature, Governor Miller refers to the certificates of indebtedness provided for in 1933 as being paid and a credit balance to the State General Fund. Public welfare is given extended consideration. Taxes are generally discussed. The subject of gambling legislation is treated as follows: "Gambling creates no wealth, discourages thrift, invites an undesirable element—has nothing to commend it."

The cricket and grass hopper menace was presented, water conservation and other subjects pertinent to the progress of the State were called to the attention of the Legislature.

Governor and Mrs. Miller reside in their beautiful home in Cheyenne; their son and daughter likewise live in this city.

(Conclusion)

**A MEMORIAL TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF WYOMING**

In the first installment of this Memorial, which appeared in the July, 1940, number of the ANNALS, comment was made concerning the high type of men who drafted the Constitution of Wyoming at the memorable convention at Cheyenne in September of 1889. As the study has progressed in preparation for this, the concluding installment, it has been further obvious that Dame Fortune smiled on this young Territory when she attracted within her borders such statesmen as formulated the document by which the new State and its citizens were destined to abide.

In following through these pages it is apparent, to a remarkable degree, that most of the men continued to reside in Wyoming and to give unsparingly of their talents in public service throughout the years—until called to the Higher Realm. Those whom circumstances transferred to other States in the early subsequent years are, certainly, none the less appreciated for their contribution made to Wyoming.

The ten counties existing in the Territory were to be represented by fifty-five delegates elected for attendance at the convention. Of these, forty-five appeared in the convention hall in the Capitol on the first day, September 2, and were sworn in—all counties being represented. Within the next few days, four more delegates appeared and took the oath, making forty-nine in all who actually participated in the sessions. The other six, comprising two each from Carbon, Crook and Sheridan counties, were not present and did not serve.

Carbon County*

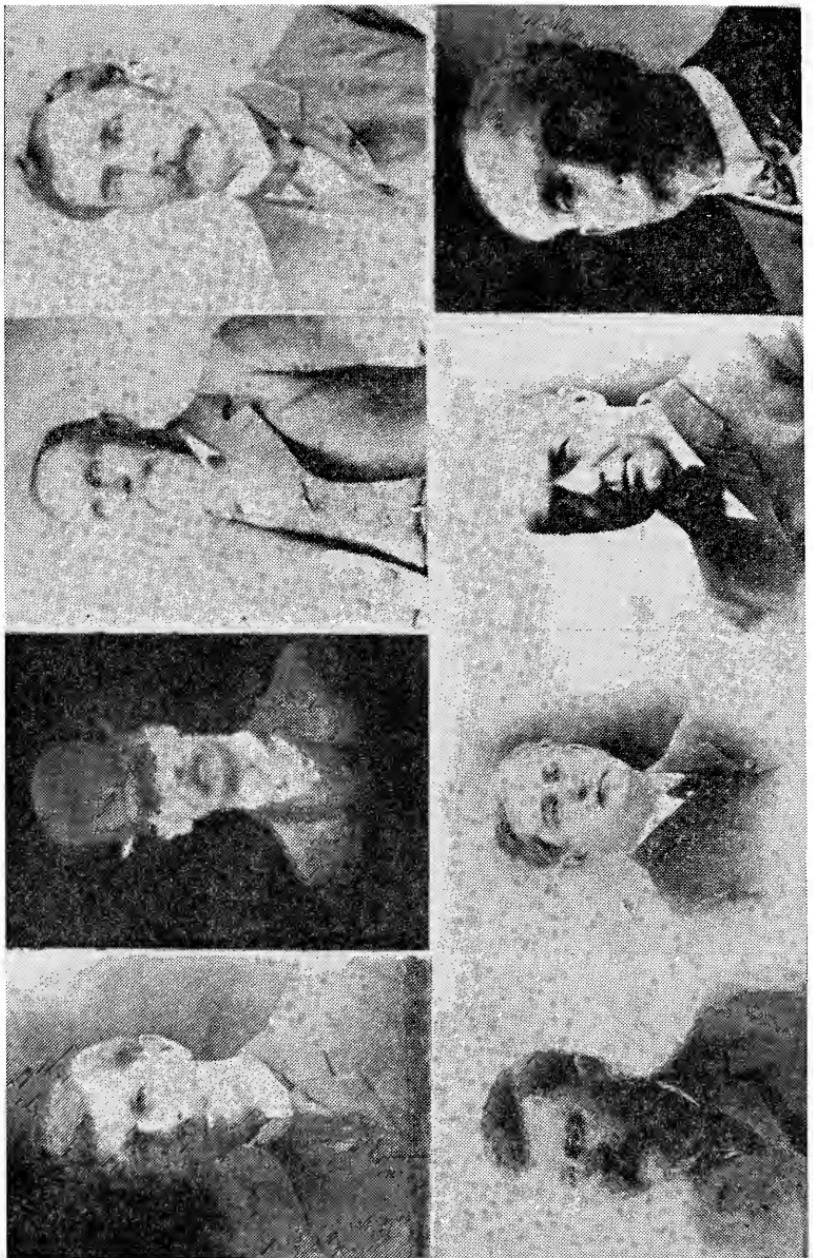
CHARLES W. BURDICK, an attorney, who became one of Wyoming's wealthiest men, was born on August 15, 1860, in Lucas county, Ohio, and died on January 8, 1927, at Washington, D. C., while sojourning in that city on business, from Cheyenne.

The son of a prominent eastern banker and manufacturer,

*Eight Constitutional delegates were elected from Carbon County, including John C. Davis and W. N. Strobridge who did not serve, and whose biographies are not contained in this memorial. Little biographical information was found concerning Delegate Robert C. Butler, and no photograph though extensive research was made.

DELEGATES TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1889

(Top row, left to right): Charles W. Burdick, J. A. Casebeer, George Ferris, George C. Smith, all of Carbon County. (Bottom row): Charles L. Vagner, Carbon County; Morris C. Barrow (Bill Barlow), William C. Irvine, DeForest Richards, all of Converse County.



he was educated in the public schools of Toledo, Ohio, at the Friend's School of Providence, Rhode Island, and at the Ohio Wesleyan University, before receiving his law degree from the University of Michigan.

In 1879, attracted to the West in the hope of improving his health, Mr. Burdick first settled in the Saratoga section of Carbon county, where he engaged in livestock raising and began taking part in public life. He was a member of the Agriculture, Irrigation and Water Committee of the Constitutional Convention.

Mr. Burdick was a member of the Territorial Legislature in 1889, and held the office as first auditor of the new State, having begun his term in 1890, when he took up his residence in Cheyenne. He was Secretary of State in 1894 and served four years, following which he began the practice of law in Cheyenne, and for a time was associated with J. A. VanOrsdel, later a federal judge for the District of Columbia.

In the early stages of the Salt Creek oil field activity, Mr. Burdick, seeing its potential value and importance, became an active force in its development, which ultimately contributed largely to his own financial success. At the time of his death he was vice-president of the Franco-Wyoming Oil Company and president of the Enalpac Oil and Gas Company, a subsidiary of the Franco-Wyoming.

Mr. Burdick served as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee from 1906 to 1912. From 1900 to 1911 he served as secretary of the state board of law examiners, and was a member of the executive council of the American Bar Association.

This Convention delegate was a member of the Masonic order and of the Episcopal church. The honorary thirty-third degree had been conferred upon him by the former.

He was buried in Lakeview cemetery, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Surviving him is his only daughter, Margaret Burdick (Mrs. George W.) Hewlett. She and Mr. Hewlett reside at their ranch, the Shellback, six miles northwest of Cheyenne.

JAMES A. CASEBEER, in partnership with a Mr. Lombard, established at Casper, on November 23, 1888, the "Casper Weekly Mail," the first newspaper in what later has become Natrona County. He became the sole owner of the publication on April 1, 1889, when Mr. Lombard retired from the enterprise, but later sold the newspaper to Alex T. Butler, who assumed its management on May 16, 1890, whereupon Mr. Casebeer departed for Yellowstone Park immediately, though what became of him, ultimately, is not known.

The "Mail" suspended operations after its issue of January 16, 1891.

Mr. Casebeer, Casper's only delegate to the Convention, was the third postmaster of the town.

Mr. A. J. Mokler, in his "History of Natrona County," says that an attempt was made to locate this delegate for a reunion of members of the Convention assemblage in 1920, but without success.

In the "Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention, Wyoming," the index shows that Mr. Casebeer spoke twice during the sessions; once, to make a brief report in the absence of the chairman of the printing committee, of which he was a member, and at another time to voice a second to a motion.

ROBERT C. BUTLER was a cattle man who operated extensively in Carbon County, probably from approximately 1883 to about 1888, though the records available concerning him are scarce.

The Brand Book for 1885, published by the Wyoming Stock Growers' Association, lists the Butler Brothers, of Ferris, Wyoming, and records five brands. The range is listed, "Sweetwater, Sand Creek and Muddy, Wyo." The Brand Book of 1887 lists "R. C. Butler," and gives the same brands and same range as in 1885 for "Butler Brothers."

CHARLES L. VAGNER was born in 1849, in Germany, and died at Laramie, Wyoming, on July 4, 1905.

He arrived in Wyoming from Illinois in 1875, and settled at Carbon, coal mining community, now a ghost town, in Carbon county, where he lived until 1901, when the family moved to Laramie.

Mr. Vagner was engaged in the cattle and sheep business in his county, and operated a general merchandise store.

He was one of the organizers of the Carbon State Bank (now the Hanna Bank) and the Carbon Timber Company, and was serving as president of both institutions at the time of his death. Mr. Vagner was one of the wealthiest men in the State.

He served his county as a representative to the legislature, and during the Constitutional Convention he was a member of the committee on mines and mining.

Other public service included membership on the first board of trustees of the University of Wyoming.

In earlier life an adherent of the Catholic faith, he later withdrew from that church, but at his request before his

death, was reinstated. In the meantime he became a member of the Masonic order and of the Knights of Pythias.

A daughter, Mrs. Louis E. Coughlin, of Laramie, Wyoming, survives.

GEORGE FERRIS, one-time owner of the famed Ferris-Haggarty copper mine in Carbon County, Wyoming, was a Civil War veteran, who came to Wyoming territory a year after he was mustered out of service.

Born on a farm in Michigan he received the usual education of his time and station. He enlisted with Company D, Seventh Michigan Cavalry, and served four years in the War of the Rebellion. Mustered out at Camp Douglas, Utah, Lieutenant Ferris returned to his native state for a year, following which he came to Wyoming and spent some time hunting and prospecting, after which he formed a partnership with Joe Hurt, and secured a ranch on the Platte river twelve miles below Fort Steele, where they engaged in raising cattle.

In 1889, Mr. Ferris sold his cattle interests and turned attention to sheep raising. Subsequently he also disposed of that property, and devoted his efforts to mining.

Mr. Ferris grub-staked Ed. Haggarty, who later discovered the copper mine known as the Ferris-Haggarty. Soon after its discovery and before much work had been accomplished, Mr. Ferris accepted an opportunity to purchase the interest of a Haggarty associate, and thereafter devoted his full time and means to the mine development, with outstanding success. In September, 1902, the mine was sold to the North American Copper Mining company, for the sum of \$1,000,000.00. To Mr. Ferris was given much credit for the stability of the mining industry, as it existed in Carbon county in those days.

He served his county as commissioner, and twice was elected to the legislature, on the Republican ticket.

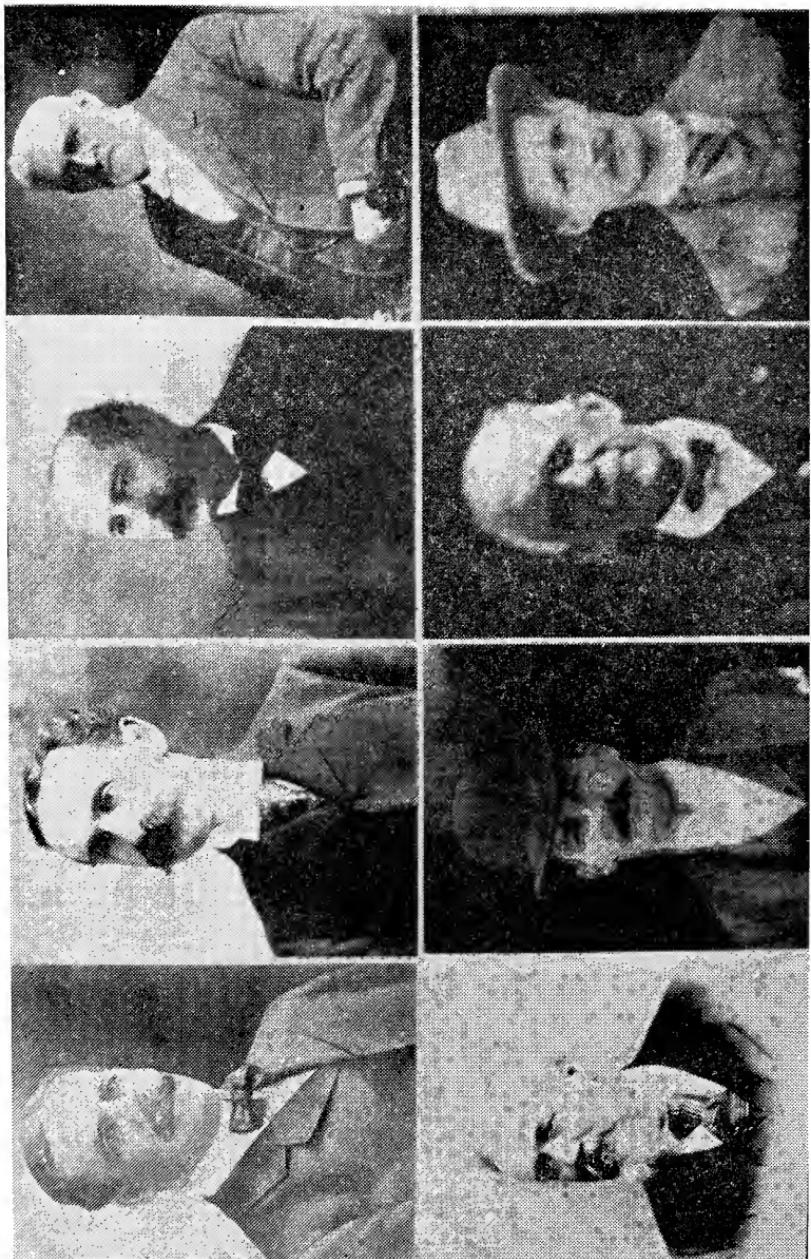
While the Convention Journal shows that this delegate voted on numerous motions presented, his name does not appear on the list of signers of the Constitution.

GEORGE C. SMITH was born on December 25, 1842, at Altoona, Pennsylvania, and was admitted to the bar in his native state.

He spent a year in Denver before moving to Rawlins, Wyoming, in 1873, where he practiced law and held the office of county attorney for several terms, and where he spent the remainder of his life.

DELEGATES TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1889

(Top row, left to right): Frederick H. Harvey, of Converse County; Meyer Frank, Richard H. Scott of Crook County; Henry A. Coffeen, of Sheridan County. (Bottom row): Asbury B. Conaway, Mark Hopkins, Herman F. Menough, Louis J. Palmer, all of Sweetwater County.



Mr. Smith enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment at Lincoln's first call for volunteers and served three years and six months under General McClelland.

His part in the Convention was an active one, for in the "Journals and Debates of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention" the record shows that he presented a number of motions, several amendments and made many comments and suggestions throughout the sessions.

Mr. Smith was a member of the Presbyterian church.

He died of pneumonia on December 25, 1900, on a train between Cheyenne Wells, Colorado, and Cheyenne, Wyoming, enroute to his home at Rawlins from Pueblo, Colorado, where he had undergone treatment for rheumatism.

A daughter, Mrs. Anna L. Evans, who resides at 4330 Claude Court, Denver, Colorado, was with her father when he passed away.

Converse County*

MORRIS C. BARROW, ("Bill Barlow") brilliant Wyoming journalist and newspaper publisher, was born on October 4, 1857, at Canton, Pennsylvania, and died on October 9, 1910, at Douglas, Wyoming.

A son of the Reverend and Mrs. Robert C. Barrow, he came West with his parents to Nebraska, and as a youth learned the printing trade. In 1876 he leased the Tecumseh (Nebraska) Chieftain, and published it for two years. Later as a U. S. postal clerk he was sent to Wyoming, with headquarters at Laramie, but in 1879 he returned to his journalistic work, and for seven years he accepted editorial positions, successively, on several newspapers at both Laramie and Rawlins, Wyoming. In the meantime he adopted the pseudonym, "Bill Barlow," under which he became so well known that even many of his friends were unaware of his real name.

His final move was in 1886, to Douglas, Wyoming, where he established the first newspaper in Converse County, "Bill Barlow's Budget," the present-day "Douglas Budget," which made its initial appearance on June 9, 1886, three months before arrival of the railroad into the town.

While the "Budget" was popular and a financial success from the time of its first appearance, fame of the publisher was spread the widest by his small monthly magazine, called "Sagebrush Philosophy," whose circulation eventually extended over the United States and the author's renown increased beyond the portals of Wyoming. Endowed with an extensive vocabulary,

*Four delegates were elected from Converse County, including J. K. Calkins, who did not accept, but Frederick H. Harvey took his place, and the four signed the Constitution.

which he used prolifically in unique, humorous style, Mr. Barrow injected into his writings sparkling wit, optimism and wise philosophy. The magazine reflected so perfectly the rare personality of its author, that after his passing the publication did not long survive.

When the U. S. Land Office was established at Douglas in 1890, Mr. Barrow was appointed by President Harrison as its first receiver, and held the office several other terms. He was Mayor of Douglas for two successive terms, and served in the Wyoming Legislatures of 1894 and 1896, during which he was chief clerk of the House.

He was a Republican, and a Mason.

FREDERICK H. HARVEY was born on September 7, 1858, at Anamosa, Jones County, Iowa, came to Douglas, Wyoming, on July 10, 1886, from Nebraska, began the practice of law and entered upon a long and useful career in the State.

After receiving his elementary education, he won his bachelor of arts degree at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, and moved to Butte, Montana, in 1882, where he taught school a year, then returned east for further study, and was graduated from law college at Iowa City, Iowa, with an LL. B. degree. Following a year's post-graduate work in law at Columbia University, New York City, Mr. Harvey came west again and settled at Ashland, Nebraska, where he practiced his profession for a year before moving to Douglas, Wyoming, where he passed the remainder of his life, and died on January 8, 1920.

Mr. Harvey was elected the first prosecuting attorney of his county, 1887, and served as Mayor of Douglas for eight years, 1900 to 1908, during which terms the wide streets were laid out, a new cemetery established, a tree planting program conducted, and other progressive activities launched and completed.

In 1913 Mr. Harvey was vice president of the Wyoming Bar Association, and in 1918 he served as president of Converse County Bar Association. He was head of the law firm of Harvey, Hawley and Garst, and was attorney for the town of Douglas.

In the later years of his career, Mr. Harvey took prominent part in the development and promotion of the mining industry and was one of the pioneer oil attorneys in the Rocky Mountain region.

At the time of his passing, eulogies of his friends appeared in the press, and spoke impressively of the high esteem in which he was held throughout the State.

**DELEGATES TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1889**

(Top row, left to right): Edward J. Morris, of Sweetwater County; Clarence D. Clark, Frank M. Foote. (Bottom row): Charles W. Holden, Jonathan Jones, Jesse Knight, all of Uinta County.

He was cited as one belonging to the class of those who "Live honestly; hurt nobody; render to everyone his due."

This delegate to the Constitutional Convention frequently addressed that body, according to the records, and as he was gifted with eloquence, the flow of his speech was strong and convincing. He was a member of the judiciary committee, and also served in other capacities.

WILLIAM C. IRVINE, born in Pennsylvania in 1852, was one of Wyoming's pioneer stockmen and prominent citizens for fifty years, having come to the Territory in 1873, and as head of the Ogalalla Cattle Company, soon became a leading figure, which continued until the time of his death. He

passed away on July 27, 1924, at Santa Monica, California, where he had gone a year previously with his family in an effort to regain his failing health.

The family resided at Cheyenne in the 1870s and 1880s before moving to their ranch at Ross in Converse county, and returned to the former city following Mr. Irvine's election as State Treasurer in 1904, in which office he served four years.

At twenty years of age Mr. Irvine left his native home and emigrated to Kansas where he wintered some stock along the Solomon river and afterward went East for a few months. Returning again to Nebraska he bought a herd of 700 cattle near Ogalalla where he spent two years. Next, he formed a partnership with the Bosler Brothers, of Pennsylvania, who also were interested in cattle.

One and a half years thereafter he purchased and brought 4,000 head of stock from Texas and located them near Fort Fetterman. The following winter, 1877, he purchased 3,800 more head, making approximately 8,000 in all. In 1881, he consolidated his holdings with some associates and organized what was known as the Converse Cattle Company, the capital stock at one time being \$1,000,000.00, in which he was the second largest stockholder.

He was a member of the Legislature of 1882 and 1884, and was a director in the first company incorporated to build the Cheyenne Northern Railroad, now the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad. One of the originators of the Electric Light Company of Cheyenne, later known as the Brush-Swan Electric Light Company. Mr. Irvine also was one of the organizers of the Wyoming Development Company, in 1883, in the Wheatland section, formed "for the purpose of taking out ditches, reclaiming desert land" and similar objectives.

Mr. Irvine was president of the Wyoming Stock Growers Association from 1896 to 1911, and was its treasurer at the time of his passing, having been elected to the office in 1912. Other service for the Association included membership on the executive committee from 1882 to 1900, assistant round-up foreman of District No. 4 in 1879, and round-up foreman of the same District in 1881.

The recordings of the "Journal and Debates of the Constitutional Convention" of Wyoming show that this delegate took active, though conservative, part in the sessions. He was a Republican.

Funeral services were held at the Masonic Temple in Cheyenne, Wyoming, on August 5, 1924, and eulogies to his

memory were expressed by friends, through the press of the State. He was buried in Lakeview cemetery of that city.

His widow, Mrs. Carolyn Irvine, died in March, 1928, and also is buried in Lakeview cemetery at Cheyenne.

DEFOREST RICHARDS performed his first public service to Wyoming as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, having come to Douglas, Wyoming, from Chadron, Nebraska, two or three years previously. He was born in New Hampshire.

He served as Wyoming's fourth Governor from January 2, 1899, until his death in office, on April 28, 1903, having completed only four months of his second term.

With an excellent background of educational training and rigid New England Puritanical rearing, together with considerable experience in public service and business enterprises before coming West, Mr. Richards arrived in the prime of life to take his place as one of the best loved leaders of Wyoming and an outstanding citizen for fifteen years.†

Crook County*

MEYER FRANK, born in Bavaria, Germany, on February 22, 1854, came to America in 1870, and joined an elder brother at Jeffersonville, Indiana, where he obtained a place as clerk and salesman for a time. Later he moved to Alabama and for about six years engaged in the mercantile business which he had learned from his father, a prosperous grain merchant.

In 1882 he came West to the Black Hills of South Dakota and obtained a position in a mercantile establishment at Central City.

Two years later, 1884, he proceeded to northeastern Wyoming and established the firm of Frank Brothers at Sundance. Later the business was incorporated as the Ogden-Frank Mercantile Co., of which Mr. Frank was its vice-president. He also, during his career, was vice-president of the Black Hills Livestock Company, secretary and treasurer of the Weston County Livestock Company, vice-president of the Wyoming Livestock Company, vice-president of the Antlers Hotel Company, and cashier and principal stockholder of the Bank of Newcastle which he organized in 1889.

He assisted in laying out the town of Newcastle and in organizing the county of Weston. "He was the first treasurer

†For a complete resume of this delegate's career, see ANNALS OF WYOMING, Volume 12, No. 2, April, 1940, pg. 121, sketch as Governor, by Harry B. Henderson, Sr.

*Four delegates were chosen from Crook County to the Constitutional Convention, but Thomas H. Moore and Joseph L. Stotts did not serve.

of these respective municipal organizations." As county treasurer he was ex-officio probate judge, and in this capacity he solemnized the first marriage ceremony performed in the new county. He was county treasurer for three successive terms and served as Mayor of Newcastle in 1900 and 1901.

He purchased the first lot sold in the townsite of Sundance and erected the first two business blocks within its limits.

He was a charter member of the Masonic lodge at Sundance, was a deputy grand master of the grand lodge of Wyoming in 1902, and had received the thirty-second degree in Wyoming Consistory, No. 1.

Though active in politics, Mr. Frank was not known as a partisan, but "in all the essentials of good citizenship and enlightened humanity was an example and an inspiration, quickening with the touch of a master hand every impulse for good, and concentrating and energizing every element of civic power and progress."

He never married. While Mr. Frank succeeded in building up large financial holdings, his fortune later was swept away and he left the State. His death occurred in New York City, on August 22, 1910.

RICHARD H. SCOTT, born on September 3, 1858, in Hennepin County, Minnesota, came to Wyoming on July 5, 1886, and settled at Sundance, where he began the practice of law.

At the age of 17 he received appointment to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, from which he was graduated on June 10, 1880. After a year's service in the U. S. Navy, he resigned in 1881 and began the study of law in Minnesota, working on government survey in the summer and pursuing his studies in the winter.

For sixteen years, from 1890 to 1906, Mr. Scott presided as judge of the First Judicial District in Wyoming. February 24, 1906, he was appointed as a Justice of the Supreme Court to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Jesse Knight, and was in continuous service on the bench from that date, having been chosen at the general election following his appointment in 1906, re-elected in 1910, and again re-elected in 1914. He served as Chief Justice from January 6, 1913 to January 4, 1915 and at the time of his death at Cheyenne, September 26, 1917, he was an Associate Justice.

At both the primary and general elections, Judge Scott was given one of the largest majority votes ever accorded a candidate for a state office in Wyoming, to that time.

He was a Republican, and his religious affiliation was the Episcopal church. He was a thirty-third degree member of the Masonic Order.

A year previous to coming to Wyoming, Mr. Scott and Miss Agnes Coalis, of Jordan, Minnesota, were married, and to them a son and four daughters were born, who, together with Mrs. Scott, were living at the time of his passing.

Sheridan County*

HENRY A. COFFEEN, born in Gallipolis, Gallia County, Ohio, on February 14, 1841, came to Wyoming from Danville, Illinois, and settled first at Big Horn, in September, 1884, prior to the formation of Sheridan county from Johnson county in 1888.

In 1887 he moved to Sheridan, and to the time of his death in that city on December 8, 1912, he took active part in public affairs of his community and state.

He was engaged in the real estate and mercantile business as well as ranching and mining.

Of him it was said, "He was a brilliant orator and a man of refinement and culture. . . . He sought to promote better standards of business and social conditions. He believed in advancement."

He was educated at Butler College in Illinois. He taught at Hiram College, Ohio, when James A. Garfield was president of the college, and while conducting a music and book store in Danville, Illinois, he traveled as a public lecturer on a lyceum course.

When the first railway survey was made through northern Wyoming and Sheridan came into being, Mr. Coffeen, foreseeing this advantage to the little town, moved to that point and assisted vigorously with its advancement by taking active part in the promotion of all business enterprise. He was largely instrumental in securing the county seat for Sheridan, in competition with the towns of Big Horn and Dayton.

In 1892, "when the political issue was the gold and silver standard, Mr. Coffeen joined the ranks of the silver Democrats," and was elected to Congress, where on August 15, 1894, he made a speech in behalf of the reclamation of arid lands of the West, endorsing some of the ideas incorporated into the Carey Act of that year.

Being his county's only representative at the Convention probably accounts for the fact that he was one of the most frequent and eloquent speakers, as disclosed by the records.

*Three Constitutional delegates were elected from Sheridan County, including Cornelius Boulware and William N. Robinson who did not serve.

At the time of his death, Mr. Coffeen was heavily interested in gold and silver mining projects in the Big Horn Mountains, and it was stated in the newspaper columns that he had spent a small fortune in exploiting and developing various mines of that section. A street and school building in Sheridan bear his name.

A daughter, Mrs. John V. Telander, lives at Sheridan, Wyoming.

Sweetwater County*

ASBURY B. CONAWAY was born on October 13, 1837, in McLean County, Illinois, and at the age of thirteen, moved with his parents to Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and as those were the days before public schools in that state he received his preliminary education in private schools.

At the age of nineteen, he entered Iowa Wesleyan University, and "having an unusually active brain, combined with great love of study," he finished the four-years classical course in three years, besides studying law and being graduated from that department at the same time. The degree of LL.D. was afterward conferred upon him by that institution.

He won all prizes offered in his classes, and it was said of him that he "read mathematics as others read books."

Shortly after his graduation in 1860 with the highest honors of his class, he was elected to his first office, Justice of the Peace, from which he resigned in the following spring and moved with the family to Chariton, Iowa. Mr. Conaway then taught school a year before enlisting in the 18th Regiment of the Iowa Volunteer Infantry, for duty in the Civil War. He soon rose from a private to the rank of Captain and at the close of the War he was brevetted Major for meritorious conduct.

Upon returning to his home in Iowa, Major Conaway engaged in the practice of law and was elected to the Legislature of his county, but in 1868 he responded to the call of the West and settled first at South Pass in Fremont County, Wyoming, but later moved to Green River, Sweetwater County, where he practiced law, and served as County and Prosecuting Attorney. He also served as Territorial Judge of the Third Judicial District, and was chairman of the Constitutional Convention Judiciary Committee.

On September 11, 1890, he was elected one of the three first Justices of the Supreme Court of the new State of Wyo-

*Five delegates were elected to represent Sweetwater County, all of whom served and all of whose signatures appear on the original document.

ming, became Chief Justice in 1897, and died in office at Cheyenne, Wyoming, on December 7th of that year.

Judge Conaway was a member of the Episcopal church, and in politics he was a Republican. He never married.

So much did Governor W. A. Richards value this early pioneer of Wyoming for his service to the State and of his worth as a man and fellow citizen, that the former, in his retiring message to the Fifth Legislature, early in 1899, eulogized Judge Conaway and suggested that a monument be erected to his memory at the expense of the State.

HERMAN F. MENOUGH, born at Wellsville, Ohio, in about 1843, died in Rock Springs, Wyoming, on August 8, 1921.

He came to Wyoming in 1885 from Steubenville, Ohio, and settled at Rock Springs, where he held the position of foreman mechanic for the Union Pacific Coal Company.

Later he spent several years in Utah, and was in the Klondike region during the gold rush.

Returning to Rock Springs he took active part in community life. He served as postmaster four or five years, until 1894, and also served as county commissioner, as well as superintendent of the General Hospital of that city.

One of the last remaining Civil War Veterans of his community at the time of his death, Mr. Menough had served with the 165th Ohio Regiment. He was a Republican and a member of the Methodist church.

Burial took place in Rock Springs, Wyoming, and the casket was draped with a silk flag belonging to the American Legion, for the purchase of which the deceased had been the first to subscribe, with a liberal donation.

The "Journals and Debates of the Constitutional Convention" show that this delegate was a member of the Credentials Committee of that body.

MARK HOPKINS, born in Connecticut in 1860, had superior advantages of education in New York City, where his father, an expert civil engineer, followed his profession more than thirty years. He also received a thorough course of instruction in a Brooklyn College, from which he was graduated in 1878.

Having placed special emphasis on the technical and scientific branches of mining, immediately after graduation Mr. Hopkins began the profession of mining engineering in Pennsylvania, where he remained for eight years.

He then came to Rock Springs, Wyoming, in 1886, and accepted the position of assistant general superintendent of the coal mines of the Union Pacific at that place, which he

held for four years. Later he filled similar positions in Colorado and Utah, but returned to Wyoming in 1891 and assumed charge of the coal mines at Cumberland, Sweetwater County. He also served as superintendent of the property now known as the Gunn-Quealy Coal Company, and other activities included his development of the mines at Sweetwater, now known as the town of Quealy, Sweetwater County, which originally was named for him and was called "Hopkinsville."

The year of his severing connections with his mining position in Pennsylvania, 1886, Mr. Hopkins was married to Miss Ella Bright, of that State.

He attended the Congregational Church and was a Republican.

He was chairman of the Constitutional Convention Committee on Mines and Mining, and the records show that he took active part in the discussions pertaining to those matters.

LOUIS J. PALMER was a young lawyer of Rock Springs, Wyoming, who came to Wyoming Territory from Illinois, where his father, General John Palmer, at one time a United States Senator, ran for President as a "gold Democrat" in 1896.

Mr. Palmer became County Attorney in his community, but returned to Illinois in about the year 1895, and it is thought that he died soon thereafter.

He was a Democrat and attended the Episcopal church.

This delegate to the Wyoming Constitutional Convention in 1889, is one of a group whose names appear most frequently in the journal and debate records of the sessions. Under the heading, "Remarks" in the index of those records, he is credited with having spoken thirty times on the Convention floor, and in addition, offered several motions.

EDWARD J. MORRIS was born on November 8, 1851, at Peru, Illinois, came to South Pass, Wyoming, in 1869.

He was a son of Esther Morris, known as the "Mother of Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," and her husband, John Morris, whose family became prominently identified with the early history of the Territory and State.

In the fall of 1882, Mr. Edward Morris, a Democrat, was elected clerk of Sweetwater county and moved to Green River, Wyoming, where he spent the remainder of his life. After serving two terms he was appointed postmaster of that town, and was its Mayor two terms, 1891-1892, and 1895-1896.

In the meantime Mr. Morris had entered the mercantile business with some associates, and in 1890 the interests of

his associates were purchased by his twin brother, Robert J. Morris, and half-brother, E. A. Slack, the firm being incorporated as the Morris Mercantile Company, doing a general business. The following year a new building was erected, and in 1896 the Morris State Bank was incorporated.

On August 31, 1881, Edward Morris was joined in marriage with Miss Bertie Chambers, daughter of Jim Chambers of Miner's Delight, Fremont County.

Mr. Morris passed away at Green River, Wyoming, on September 5 or 6, 1902, and funeral services were held at Cheyenne on September 9. He was a member of the Masonic Order and of the Episcopal church.

This delegate to the Constitutional Convention was referred to by Wyoming Historian, I. S. Bartlett, as being one of a group of men of Green River who "played important parts in the public affairs of Wyoming during the Territorial days and in the early days of Statehood."

Uinta County*

CLARENCE D. CLARK, born at Sandy Creek, New York, on April 16, 1851, came to Wyoming in 1881 from Manchester, Iowa, where he had practiced law for seven years, and settled at Evanston. He passed away on November 18, 1930, in that city, which closed a career of nearly half a century of valuable public service to his adopted state.

Mr. Clark was Wyoming's first representative in the United States Congress after statehood was conferred, and served until March, 1893. From 1895 to 1917, twenty-two years, he served as United States Senator, being the senior senator from Wyoming. In July, 1919, he was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson on the Canadian-American International Joint Boundary Commission, and relinquished his duties in May, 1929.

For four years he was prosecuting attorney of Uinta county, was influential in obtaining a Carnegie Library and Federal Building for Evanston; was offered appointment as Associate Justice of Wyoming in 1890, but declined. He was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1888, 1900, 1904 and 1908.

This delegate to the Constitutional Convention took prominent part in the deliberations of that assemblage, according to the records, and was a member of the committee of ten

*Six Constitutional delegates were elected from Uinta County, all of whom signed the Constitution for the proposed new State.

John L. Russell also was a member from Uinta County, but biographical data and photograph have not been located, though extensive research was made.

which presented the final memorial to Congress praying for admission of Wyoming as a State. He delivered an oration at Wyoming's famed statehood celebration in Cheyenne on July 23, 1890. It was referred to by the press as "a masterpiece of eloquence."

Senator Clark was a graduate of Iowa State University, admitted to the bar of that state in 1874, and on August 6 of the same year was united in marriage with Miss Alice C. Downs, climax to a public school romance of early youth in Belvidere, Illinois, where both had been pupils.

In announcing his death, newspaper headlines proclaimed Senator Clark, "Best Loved Citizen of Wyoming. . . . Eminent Statesman and Exemplar of American Patriotism, Kind Neighbor and Wonderful Friend, Leaves Record of His Life Written on Hearts of Men."

Mrs. Clark passed away suddenly on January 22, 1925, while on a cruise of the Mediterranean Sea in company with her husband. In observance of their Golden Wedding Anniversary, they were making an extensive tour, which came to its tragic end within an hour's sail from Naples, Italy, from where they had just departed. Her body also lies in the Evanston cemetery.

FRANK M. FOOTE, born on May 26, 1847, at South Bend, Indiana, received his higher education at the Northern Indiana College and the Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso.

With a background of business experience as manager of a lumber company in his home town for a time, followed by a bookkeeping position in Rochester, Minnesota, Mr. Foote came to Wyoming in the spring of 1871, and located at Bryan, where he was employed as a clerk for the Union Pacific Railroad. In August of 1872, he moved to Evanston, Wyoming, as agent for the same company, and held that position 17 or 18 years.

Evanston was his home until summoned by death, on November 13, 1914, and burial took place at that city.

Throughout Mr. Foote's lifetime his activities were numerous and varied: political, fraternal, military and general business.

He was a member of the Wyoming Territorial Legislature, 1875-1876; probate judge and treasurer, Uinta County, Wyoming, 1877-1880; under-sheriff, 1880-1881; member of Wyoming Territorial Penitentiary commission, 1884-1888; Uinta county assessor, 1895-1896; Mayor of Evanston, 1889-1890; Receiver of public moneys, Evanston, 1890-1904, 1897-1898, and 1899-1914. In 1912, Mr. Foote assisted in organiz-

ing the Carbon Steel Manufacturing and Mining Company, and was its first president.

He was a member of the board of trustees appointed by the Governor under the act of February 16, 1895, and empowered, with ex-officio members, to establish the Wyoming Historical Society (later and now conducted as the Wyoming Historical Department).

In military activities, he was the Colonel commanding the First Regiment, Wyoming National Guard, 1893-1897, and Major commanding First Battalion, Wyoming Volunteers, in the Philippines during the Spanish-American war and the Philippine insurrection. "He served with gallantry in the battle at the taking of Manila on August 13, 1898, as well as many other battles, engagements and skirmishes. . . . His military record, though brief, is full of fruitful activity. His political record is both long and strong."

Mr. Foote was a member of the Masonic Order, in which he had received the thirty-third degree, and of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. He held high offices in both. He was a life member of Salt Lake City Lodge No. 85, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and was a Republican in politics.

In 1873, Mr. Foote and Miss Ida L. Deuel were married, at Waterloo, New York. Two sons and two daughters were born to the couple.

CHARLES W. HOLDEN was born on January 4, 1838, at Hennepin, Bureau County, Ohio, and at seventeen began his career as a farm hand at wages of \$14.00 per month.

He chose blacksmithing for an early profession, but in the meantime studied law and began practicing, first at Marion, Illinois, and later at Clinton, until June, 1861, when he enlisted in Company F, Forty-first Illinois Infantry and served in the Union Army of the Civil War until he was mustered out, in August, 1864. He took part in some fierce engagements though he received only slight injuries.

Mr. Holden brought his family to Green River, Wyoming, from Veedersburg, Indiana, on February 22, 1877, opened a law office and founded the Daily Evening Press, but business was not lucrative. The following year he began homesteading on Fontenelle Creek, where the family eventually acquired large acreage holdings and stock interests.

Known as "Judge" from having been a justice of the peace, Mr. Holden served as U. S. Land Commissioner for twenty years. "Entry for the majority of homes in Green River valley, was made before him." He served as postmaster and was a member of the school board of trustees for

twenty-three years. Mr. Holden was instrumental in securing a telephone line for the valley, between Opal and Green River, 65 miles, and a mail route. He was a member of the first state board of control and assisted in the formation of rules governing its action; he also took a leading part in the formation of the districts for LaBarge and Fontenelle.

This member of the Constitutional Convention was a member of Committee No. 7, Agriculture, Irrigation and Water Rights, and the index to the Journals and Debates discloses that he was a frequent speaker on the convention floor.

He was a Republican in politics.

In 1911, Mr. Holden sold his ranch to a son, Howard, and accompanied his daughters, Minnie and Ella Holden, to Riverside, California, where he passed away on December 20, 1913. The body was brought back to the Valley of the Fontenelle and buried by the side of his wife, on the old home ranch.

JONATHAN JONES was born in 1852, at Greansyor, Wales, and in 1885 came from the British Isles to Salt Lake City, Utah, followed by his wife and their five children a year later.

Having been a miner in his native land, he again engaged in mining and development work as an engineer during his first years of residence in Utah. Later he filed on a homestead near Evanston, Wyoming, and proceeded to farm and raise cattle. Afterward the family moved to Evanston, and in 1900, Mr. Jones was elected sheriff of Uinta county, serving until 1912. Search for desperate criminals in the Jackson Hole country, then a part of Uinta County, was among his official duties on several occasions. After completing his terms as sheriff, Mr. Jones was city marshal of Evanston for a few years. Later he sold his ranch and moved to Ogden, Utah, in 1915.

In 1920 he was appointed chief of police at Ogden and served two terms. He also was acting United States deputy marshal in 1924-1925.

Mr. Jones was a member of the Congregational church.

This member of the Constitutional Convention presented File No. 85 entitled, "Concerning Labor," which limited a working day to "eight hours for all mines and for all state and municipal works." It was adopted as a part of the Constitution, after general discussion and debate, during which Mr. Jones spoke several times in the interest of the miners.

Mr. Jones passed away at his home in Ogden, Utah, on Sunday, July 14, 1929, following a paralytic stroke two days

previously, and was buried in Mountain View cemetery of that city, on July 17th.

His widow, three daughters, one son and other relatives survived him.

JESSE KNIGHT was born on July 5, 1850, in Oneida County, New York, and after receiving his elementary education he gained his higher learning at Falley Seminary in Fulton, New York.

At the age of seventeen, home ties were severed and he proceeded to St. Peter, Minnesota, made his home with an uncle, and then journeyed west to Omaha, Nebraska, where he obtained a clerical position in a mercantile house. In 1871, he moved to South Pass, Wyoming, and accepted employment from Sydney Ticknor for a year, when he was appointed Clerk of the Court for the Third Judicial District, and also was appointed postmaster for South Pass. In 1874 the district was re-organized. This necessitated Mr. Knight's moving to Evanston, Wyoming, where he continued as Clerk of the District Court for ten years longer.

In the meantime he had been studying law and was admitted to the bar in 1877.

In 1888, he was elected county attorney and served until 1890. He was elected as district judge in 1890, and after seven years of service, he was appointed, in 1897, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Asbury B. Conaway as Associate Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court. In 1898 Judge Knight was elected his own successor for a full term of eight years, and upon retirement of Chief Justice S. T. Corn in 1904, Judge Knight was elevated to that position, which he held at the time of his death, April 9, 1905, at Cheyenne, Wyoming.

As has been true of many delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1889, Judge Knight was destined to become regarded as one of Wyoming's most noble characters. "He was, in a measure, self-made. He pushed forward slowly, but successfully, through varying stages of pioneer life to judicial eminence."

In politics Judge Knight was a Republican, and his fraternal organizations included the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Cheyenne chapter; the Masonic Order, thirty-third degree; the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and the Maccabees.

He was survived by three daughters and two sons. His wife, Mary L. Hezlep, of Ohio, with whom he was married on February 14, 1876, had passed away several years previously.

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Compiling Above Biographies of Delegates from Carbon, Converse,
Crook, Sheridan, Sweetwater, and Uinta Counties.**

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(Conclusion)

ERRATA

William E. Chaplin, of Van Nuys, California, calls attention to the fact that John W. Hoyt was appointed third Territorial Governor of Wyoming by President Hayes, instead of President Grant, as stated on page 171 of the July issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING. The information was obtained from one of the accepted histories of Wyoming, but the matter has been checked again, and Mr. Chaplin's statement is found to be correct.

R. H. Hall, of Lander, a Wyoming pioneer, calls attention of the Wyoming Historical Department to the biographical sketch of H. G. Nickerson on page 175 of the July, 1940, issue of the ANNALS OF WYOMING, in which it is stated that Mr. Nickerson was chairman of the first board of county commissioners of Fremont County. Mr. Hall, a member of that board, advises that H. E. Blinn was chairman.

The source of the original information is "Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming," pg. 115.

It is the desire of the Wyoming Historical Department that facts presented in the ANNALS shall be accurate, and corrections from readers are appreciated.



THERESE A. PARKINSON JENKINS

A Prominent Wyoming Feminist

By Agnes Jenkins Metcalf

Wyoming's observance this year of its fiftieth anniversary of admission to statehood, has brought to memory the many loyal and untiring women of the Territory of Wyoming, through whose efforts was brought about this privilege of franchise—which we of the later generation have learned to accept as a matter of course.

As a daughter of one of these pioneer women and one whose unswerving loyalty to the cause of woman suffrage did its part in bringing about this privilege of franchise, I feel that I have just cause to be proud, and it gives me much pleasure to set forth a few of the outstanding facts concerning her life, which may perpetuate her memory in the annals of the state which was her home and which she loved for more than a half century.

Therese Alberta Parkinson was born May 1, 1853, in Fayette, Lafayette County, Wisconsin, the daughter of Peter

and Cleantha Storms Welch Parkinson. Her father was a pioneer of Wisconsin, having gone there from his home in Tennessee while that state was yet a part of the Northwest Territory. His family, for several generations, had been owners of large estates in Virginia and Tennessee and had been slave-holders, but when he and his father moved to Wisconsin they freed their slaves and took them with them to their new home. Benton Parkinson, a brother of Mrs. Jenkins was killed in the Union Army during the Civil War.

"Tessie," as she was familiarly called, was reared in a home of such comforts and luxuries and refinement as were known in those days, and was educated in both the Normal Training School at Platteville, and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. She was a teacher in the schools in Madison prior to coming to Cheyenne to marry James F. Jenkins, who was at the time in government employ at Camp Carlin, the site of which was adjacent to the present Fort Francis E. Warren. He later went into business for himself and was in the shoe business for 45 years prior to his death in 1928. They were married in Cheyenne on December 20, 1877.

To a young woman coming from such a community as Madison, Cheyenne must have seemed to be the jumping-off place, with its barren prairie, with but fifteen trees in the town and these kept alive with water carried out in buckets after the washing had been done, and women of ill-repute very much in the majority. And so, with the firm conviction that if Cheyenne was to become a place where she and the other good women could raise their families and make homes to be proud of, the better element of women must build on everything for the uplift of women and children, she began fitting herself into the civil and social life of the community, affiliating herself immediately with the Presbyterian Church and was a charter member of its Missionary Society, and in 1883, when Frances E. Willard and Anna Gordon came to Cheyenne, on their nation-wide tour organizing the Temperance Union, she became a charter member of the Cheyenne Temperance Union and an ardent worker for its cause. With the idea in mind that with the right to vote, women held the "key" to happier homes, better schools and a higher plane for their children, she threw herself whole-heartedly into the work of suffrage, and through it, temperance.

Quoting from "A Woman of the Century," edited and published by Frances Willard and Mary Livermore, it is said: "She has labored to secure equal rights and justice for all citizens.—She has done much journalistic work. In April 1889, Mrs. Jenkins contributed to the 'Popular Science

Monthly' a striking paper entitled, 'The Mental Force of Woman,' in reply to a Professor Cope's article on 'The Relation of the Sexes to the Government,' in a preceding issue of the magazine. She has contributed a number of graceful poems to the Denver Times and other journals; she is now the regular Wyoming correspondent of the Omaha 'Central West,' 'Women's Tribune' and the 'Union Signal.' Her life is a busy one and she is a recognized power in Wyoming among those who are interested in purifying and elevating society, and in bringing about the absolute recognition of the equality of the sexes before the law."

Mrs. Jenkins also wrote regularly for many years for the local newspapers.

In the life of Mrs. Jenkins, in "Women of Wyoming," by Mrs. Beach, it says: "Her address (at Laramie in 1883) entitled 'Keys,' printed in the Laramie Sentinel was the first address on Prohibition ever delivered in the territory. It received much favorable comment at the time. In connection with her work for the Prohibition cause, she secured the introduction and passage of the law making compulsory the teaching of the effects of alcohol and narcotics on the human system in the public schools. This bill became a law with but one dissenting vote, and in reply to a letter of congratulation from Miss Willard upon the signal victory for the cause of temperance, Mrs. Jenkins said: 'It never even cost a postage stamp'."

In 1889, when the Constitutional Convention was called to adopt a constitution under the Enabling Act, a vital issue was the constitutional clause "The right to vote and hold office shall not be abridged on account of sex." This clause had caused much debate in Congress and Mrs. Jenkins took an active part in helping to retain the clause in our constitution and influencing members of Congress from the south and particularly from her native state of Wisconsin in favor of the same. After the adoption of the constitution and its approval, on July 10, 1890, a huge celebration was planned at the Capitol and the women of the state presented a flag to the Governor upon which was inscribed, "To Wyoming from her women in honor of the State Constitution." Mrs. Jenkins was chosen, in recognition of the part she had played the September previously, to make the statehood speech, and the following is an excerpt from the record of Robert Morris, (son of Esther Morris) Secretary of the State Historical Society:

"When the people of Wyoming met at Cheyenne on July 23, to celebrate their statehood, by Governor Francis E.

Warren sat Mrs. Amalia Post, president of the Woman Suffrage Association. The first and principal oration of the day was made by Mrs. Therese A. Jenkins, of which the History of Wyoming says:

“ ‘Proceeding to the front of the platform, Mrs. Jenkins, in clear, forceful tones which penetrated to the very outskirts of the crowd of ten thousand, delivered without manuscript or notes an address, which in ability, logic and eloquence has rarely, if ever, been equaled by any woman of the land. She was grandly equal to the occasion. At the conclusion of her address, Mrs. Jenkins received a wonderful ovation, and was presented with a magnificent basket of flowers.’ ”

Mrs. Jenkins’ address was copied in innumerable Woman Suffrage papers and in Temperance magazines and was even translated into many foreign languages. She had a copy printed in the French language in one of the French newspapers of the day.

The general election in Colorado was in 1893 and suffrage for women was the great issue of the campaign. Mrs. Jenkins was selected by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, upon invitation from the Suffrage Clubs of Colorado, to make a speaking tour of the state. She spoke thirteen times in the city of Denver, and in practically every city and town in the state. Victory at the polls made Colorado the second state in the Union to have suffrage for its women. She was then called upon to go to Kansas. She spoke sixty times in the sixty northern counties of that state, beginning with a mass meeting at Kansas City, Kansas. The cause in Kansas was lost by but one vote when the Legislature met.

In 1895, Miss Susan B. Anthony, president of the National Woman’s Suffrage Association, carried out a long-cherished desire to visit Wyoming. She was on her way to take part in the Woman’s Congress at San Francisco, accompanied by the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, vice president at large, and they stopped at Cheyenne, where they were the guests of Senator and Mrs. Joseph M. Carey. Following a dinner party at the Carey home, a meeting was held in the Baptist Church, at which Mrs. Jenkins presided.

In 1911 Mrs. Jenkins was made National Superintendent of Franchise in the W.C.T.U. and attended the World’s Convention at Boston. She was asked by Miss Willard to present a flag to that convention typical of Wyoming. She made this presentation in old Faneuil Hall. The flag was of pure white silk with a blue field in which there was one star marked WYOMING. In her address she said: “Ere a decade shall

have passed away other stars shall encircle this star." In ten years her prediction came true.

Mrs. Jenkins spoke in twelve states for suffrage and in as many for prohibition.

In 1892, she was elected to attend the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis, and was the first woman ever so honored in the state, and of course the first in the nation. Her fellow-members at this convention were Frank W. Mondell and Judge C. N. Potter.

In 1919 she attended the national convention of the National Suffrage Society, at St. Louis, and was asked by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt to present the matter to Governor Robert D. Carey, of calling a special session of the legislature to ratify the 19th Amendment to the Constitution. Governor Carey called the special session and Wyoming was one of the first states to ratify the amendment.

The 18th amendment was the one for Prohibition and thus two of her cherished hopes came to pass, and although she often said that prohibition had failed because the women themselves had failed in supporting those who tried to uphold the law and order, she was ever of the firm belief that the purpose of the amendment was right. She was never radical nor bigotted in her temperance beliefs and when Repeal came she often said when asked if she was disappointed in the returns, "No, for if that is what the people want and the way they voted for it, that is what the rest of us must accept and like, for that is what I have spent most of my life trying to accomplish and that is to give everyone the right to express their wish through franchise."

In 1920 Mrs. Jenkins was chosen to represent the Rocky Mountain region at the World's Convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and went to London to the convention. She spent three months in England, Scotland, Belgium, France and Switzerland, and although 67 years old at the time thoroughly enjoyed every minute of the trip and returned full of energy and vigor.

Socially Mrs. Jenkins took an active part in various organizations of her church, she was also a member of the D. A. R., and was a Past Department President of the Women's Relief Corps of the G. A. R., and the Auxiliary of the United Spanish War Veterans, the Woodmen Circle, the Pioneer Club, and other charitable and benevolent organizations in Cheyenne.

It was these memories and the joy of recounting them that helped her to spend the last twelve years of her life in a wheel chair, joyfully and patiently, but perhaps one of the

greatest honors conferred upon her during her latter years was when she was named by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt for a place of honor in the State Rolls of Honor which hang in the National Headquarters of the National League of Women Voters in Washington, D. C., honoring the women pioneers of the suffrage movement. Seventy-two names appear on these rolls of honor, the two from Wyoming being Mrs. Jenkins and Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard. Mrs. Jenkins died on February 28, 1936, at the age of 83.

Even though Mrs. Jenkins was continually engaged in outstanding civic and social activities for the improved growth of Wyoming and the Nation, she did not neglect her home and family. She was the mother of three children, and the welcome and gracious hospitality of her home was enjoyed by her multitude of friends.

The children, who are all living, are: Mrs. Robert G. (Elsie C.) Jerpe, of Roseville, California; Horace M. Jenkins, of Cheyenne, and Mrs. J. Carl (Agnes Wyoming) Metcalf, also of Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Mrs. Jenkins' great grandfather served in the Revolutionary War; her grandfather was Colonel Daniel Morgan Parkinson, a soldier in the War of 1812; her father was a lieutenant in the war with Mexico and in the Black Hawk Indian War, from Wisconsin; and her husband, James F. Jenkins was a Captain in the Spanish-American War. Her son, Horace M. Jenkins also served in the Spanish-American War.

“WOMAN'S CORNER”*

Mrs. Therese A. Jenkins, Editor

(From *The Wyoming Commonwealth*, Cheyenne, Wyo., December, 1891)

“The coming woman” will have a world of responsibility on her shoulders, for she will be charged with all the requirements of citizenship, and will be a co-worker with man in nearly all the duties of life. She will wage an eternal war on intoxicants, vice, and all kinds of crime. She will point to the better way and men will follow it, not because woman says so, but because it is right. The coming woman will be a helpmate to her husband and will hold an influence over him not because of her good looks or her pretty ways, but because of her wisdom. She will lift her own sex up to a high standard, and the world will be made better, directly through her efforts.

*Excerpts from a column in “*The Wyoming Commonwealth*,” with above heading, edited by Therese A. Jenkins (Mrs. J. F.).

WYOMING

Hail to Wyoming's lone star of the mountain,
Tingling with light all the radiant West.
Brooding and pointing o'er liberty's fountain,
Untainted, unstinted, where all can be blest!
Where woman, the slumberer, the oppressed of the ages,
Stands freed of the burden that fettered her powers,
And upright and brave writes on history's pages
The lesson of promise for oncoming hours.
Hark, the voice of Wyoming her deaf ear engages!
'Tis the clarion protest that none can recall,
And woman, slow rising, marches on to the ages
When justice beneficent reigns over all.

—LOUISE YOUNG STEVENS.

The Carnesville (Ga.) Tribune, edited by Ellen J. Dortch, speaks in this azerous style:

"The question of female evangelists was brought up at a session of the Methodist ecumenical council in Washington city last week.

A woman with brains in the upper story, and her heart in the right place, will somehow or other find her sphere in the highest and widest field she is fitted to work in.

It is useless for any human being to prescribe a woman's work or a woman's walk. She will walk in the ways that are highest, and follow the impulses that are noblest, holding herself accountable only to the Supreme Being that gave them.

Woman is slowly rising, and when she comes to stand beside man as his gentle comrade and faithful helpmate in all the works and walks of life, then will the world have reached its highest phase of civilization.

To instill reverential pride of a people in a State's past is to create unwavering confidence in its future.

WYOMING'S FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY AS A STATE

By William A. Riner*
Chief Justice, Wyoming Supreme Court

The following address was delivered at Cheyenne, Wyoming, on July 25, 1940, as a feature of the program in connection with a state-wide celebration of the Golden Anniversary of Wyoming's admission into the Union.—Ed.

This day belongs not alone to Wyoming but to the entire nation. The results of the event it commemorates are the heritage not only of the people of this commonwealth and America, but also of those who live beyond the seas. On this day we celebrate not only the birth of Wyoming as a sovereign State, but also the birth in its fundamental charter of the legal concept that citizens of a State should enjoy civil and political rights regardless of sex. The now present colorful scenes of "Frontier Days," likewise commemorate for us, and for all who have come here to see them, that romantic era which culminated in Wyoming's Statehood—an era filled to overflowing with the lofty courage, with the stern duties

***BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**—The Honorable William A. Riner, Chief Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court, was born on June 26, 1878, at Greene, Iowa. He received his bachelor of arts degree from the University of Southern California in 1899, and his law degree from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, in 1902. He was admitted to practice in the courts of Michigan the year of his graduation, and later the same year he moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming, where his career has been marked with the highest degree of success. At this time he is recognized throughout the country as one of the outstanding jurists.

Judge Riner's public service began in 1908, when he was elected city attorney of Cheyenne, and served until 1911; he then became Assistant United States Attorney, District of Wyoming, and served until 1912. In 1922 he was appointed by Governor Robert D. Carey as judge of the first judicial district of Wyoming, then including Laramie, Niobrara, Goshen and Platte counties. Subsequently, he was elected to the same office for the term, 1922-1928. In 1928, he was appointed an associate justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court by Governor Frank C. Emerson; later he was elected to the same office for the term, 1928-1934, was re-elected for the term 1935-1942, and became Chief Justice of that court on January 2, 1939.

Judge Riner is a thirty-third degree Mason and a member of the Mystic Shrine. He is a member of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity, and of the Congregational church. In politics he is a Republican.

He and Miss Fannie Borst, of Denver, Colorado, were married in 1907, and they reside at 114 West Twenty-seventh Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Judge Riner is a nephew of Judge John A. Riner, a delegate from Laramie County to the Constitutional Convention at Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1889, and United States District Judge for the District of Wyoming, from 1890 until his death in 1923.

and with the wise foresight of the pioneer spirit of the West. It has been truly said that "Men make a nation" and "States are not great, except as men may make them so."

On the tenth day of this month, fifty years ago, President Harrison approved the Act of Congress which admitted Wyoming into the Union. When the news of the passage of the Act of Admission reached this city, the successful conclusion of the efforts of the people of Wyoming to attain statehood was joyously observed, July 23, 1890. Every portion of the Territory was invited to join in the demonstration. Military, civic and musical organizations united in a parade to start the celebration. One of its features, both novel and instructive, was a large float, beautifully decorated; on it were forty-two young women, emblematical of the forty-two states of the Union. Immediately following this came a diminutive carriage drawn by two small Shetland ponies. In this conveyance rode three little girls—Grace Cowhick, impersonating the Goddess of Liberty, Frances Warren, representing the State of Wyoming, and a little Miss Elliott, representing the State of Idaho. Both states, though recognized then by Congress, had not yet attained the full dignity of membership in the Federal Union. As suggested by one of the newspapers of that day, the tableau seemed to say for the little folks in the carriage to those on the large float in front: "You may look down on us now, but we'll be on the big wagon by and by." The chief address for the occasion was delivered by the Honorable Clarence D. Clark of Evanston, who subsequently occupied a seat in the United States Senate, for many years representing Wyoming there.

On the 30th day of September, 1889, the members of the Constitutional Convention affixed their signatures to the instrument they had framed. Their work was confirmed and adopted by the people of the Territory the following fifth day of November by a five-sixths vote of the citizens. The boundaries of the commonwealth thus established, though not exceptionally large, embrace an area as great as the six states of New England and Indiana combined. Indiana alone is about the size of the country of Portugal and is larger than Ireland. The name "Wyoming" was borrowed from that of the historic valley in western Pennsylvania, whose sad tragedy the gifted pen of the Scottish poet, Thomas Campbell, related to the world. The name's soft sounding syllables had their origin in a Delaware Indian word meaning "plains land" or "great plains." While appropriate to its broad expanse of prairies, green-hued in Spring and early Summer, tawny under the Fall and wintry skies, we know that in Wyoming's

surface of 365 miles of length and 275 miles of width, many far-flung mountain ranges rise in majesty—some like the cloud-haunted Tetons—rivaling in beauty and grandeur the proudest peaks of the Swiss Alps. Noble river-threaded valleys, fertile as the soil of ancient Eden, lie cradled in their supporting flanks.

The spread of civilization to a new land is often fraught with deepest human interest. As a milestone in the progress of humanity to possess the world it draws to the forefront the best and the worst in human character. The conquest of difficulties and hardships ever present in such circumstances automatically produces this result. It is natural that prose and poetry alike should each do their best to preserve the picture for posterity. Let me tell then, but briefly, of this region, almost the last of the West to be penetrated by the westward trend of our national life. It is a history worthy to minister to the imagination and idealism of the best talent our nation shall ever produce. In thrilling and picturesque phrase, Wister's "*Virginian*" has demonstrated its possibilities. But the end is not yet. The great treasure still remains, and there is only left to be found the genius whose ability can unlock the overflowing storehouse.

The migrating hordes of game whose trails criss-crossed those made by the moccasined feet of the savage first beheld that lonely land known as Wyoming. Then came the buck-skin clad fur trappers and traders under Colter, Hunt, Sublette and Bridger in the early eighteen hundreds, the real advance-guard of civilization. After them came missionaries and the adventurous home-seekers in western lands. Their canvas-covered wagons creaked and tossed along the deep ruts of the Overland and Oregon trails. Generations may pass and the origin of these trails become a legend, but the scars they left will still be there to amaze the wondering eyes of decades still to come. Even we marvel to see them abraded as they were by the tread of thousands upon thousands of men and women, the hoofs of millions of animals and the wheels of untold numbers of vehicles. On the solid rocks ruts can be found worn a foot deep.

During the first quarter of the last century very little was known of the country west of the Missouri. In 1843 the Edinburgh Review declared that the region between the western border of Missouri and the Rocky Mountains was "*incapable, probably forever of fixed settlement*," while west of that range "*only a very small portion of the land is susceptible of cultivation*." Even so brilliant a mind as that of Daniel Webster inquired in the United States Senate con-

cerning this region: "What do we want with the vast worthless area, this region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?" He vehemently then declared—"Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it is now." But these erroneous ideas did not long prevail. Men of all classes foresook their customary vocations and joined the hegira to the new western lands, forgetful or careless of the pathless expanses, the unavoidable hardships and the inevitable perils of the wilderness.

We look and we behold through the misty curtains let fall by time as through the lofty archways of some grand structure the long procession passes, as silent and like as a dream, columns of blue-clad troops, saber rattling cavalry and plodding infantry under Miles, Terry, Custer and Crook; huge herds of half wild Texas cattle, cowpunchers, horse wranglers and chuck wagons; lurching dust-covered stage-coaches and freighters with bull teams and Conestoga wagons.

Again we look and again we see dimly limned through those same magic curtains the cowboys of picture and story as they rode through the brilliant days of the old cattle industry. At first they had come from Texas, but in the zenith of their romantic glory they came from everywhere and from every class. They included young Englishmen from Oxford and Cambridge, college graduates from the East,—well born Americans; indeed, all sorts who did not "strike luck" at anything else and who were full of the ardour of youth and its love of adventure. They were satisfied with forty dollars a month as pay and good keep during the greater part of each year. They rode good horses, high-spirited as the "boys" themselves. They bought hand stamped Cheyenne saddles and California bits that were ornate as jewelry; they stuck their feet in grand tapaderos or hooded stirrups richly ornamented and padded with lambs wool. Their spurs were fit for the knights of old; their "ropes" or lariats were selected with more care than a circus tight-rope; and their big, broad felt sombreros cost more than the Prince of Wales ever paid for a "topper."

Parting the curtains once more for another backward glance through the enshrouding haze of time, we see the tragic close of the "good, old days," the conclusion of the primitive, unwieldy and devil-may-care cattle business of the wide open ranges. Prices fell, fences began to cut up the broad reaches of the prairie grasses; water was no longer available everywhere, winter losses became heavier and heavier. The sheep

industry came and came to stay, despite the fierce opposition it had at first to meet. The last free-roving herds vanished. In their stead were substituted small bunches of cattle, frequently held in connection with agriculture. Their owners found that thus better grades of stock could be bred, better meat produced, risks reduced to a minimum and the expense of handling the animals cut to a tithe of that required under the wasteful plan in vogue before.

Wyoming had progressed under Territorial government for some twenty years when the steps were taken leading to her recognition in the sisterhood of States. Mention of some of these steps has already been made. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention, fifty-five in number, chosen in July, 1889, met in Cheyenne on the second day of September of that year. Forty-five of these affixed their signatures to the completed instrument, remarkable not only for its declaration of equality of the sexes in political rights, but also for its clarity and wise provisions for the guidance of the new government for the days that were to come. Comparatively few amendments to the original framework have in consequence been required to meet the ever-shifting demands of fifty years of statehood.

It is not surprising that this result was wrought. In that convention sat many men who subsequently held high office in the proposed new state. They were able, they were practical, they had been trained and schooled by the difficulties and problems necessarily arising in a new land and they were endowed with far-sighted vision for the future. Many were descendants of men who long ago had left the quiet lanes and hedgerows of old England for homes beyond the sea; who had played their part in severing the ties that bound the colonies to the out-worn ideas and fettering political notions of the old world; descendants of those who had brought order out of the chaos immediately following the Revolution. Some had gloriously upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln in maintaining the integrity of the Union in the then comparatively recent strife between the states.

Let me recall for you briefly just a few of the significant and outstanding concepts, other than that regarding the suffrage which they wrought into that remarkable instrument fashioned in the month of September so long ago. Our state's constitution forbids imprisonment for debt except in cases of fraud; it guarantees liberty of conscience, but forbids such liberty to "be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State." It forbids either the appropriation or the gift of

state money "to any denominational or sectarian institution or association." That strange legal maxim "the greater the truth, the greater the libel" is discarded by the constitutional language—"Every person may freely speak, write or publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and in all trials for libel both civil and criminal, the truth when published with good intent and for justifiable ends shall be a sufficient defense, the jury having the rights to determine the facts and the law under direction of the court."

Truly modern is this clause—"The rights of labor shall have just protection through laws calculated to secure to the laborer proper rewards for his service and to promote the industrial welfare of the state." So also is the language,— "Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free state and shall not be allowed. Corporations being creatures of the state endowed for the public good with a portion of its sovereign powers must be subject to its control." "The water of all natural streams, springs, lakes or other collections of still water within the boundaries of the state" is declared to be state property, under state control, to equally guard all the various interests involved and under the great and vital principle "Priority of appropriation for beneficial use shall give the better right. No appropriation shall be denied except when such denial is demanded by the public interest."

Wyoming's Constitution forbids, too, "sectarian instruction, qualification or tests" to be "imposed, exacted, applied or in any manner tolerated in the schools of any grade or character controlled by the state." It insists also that "as the health and morality of the people are essential to their well being and to the peace and permanence of the state, it shall be the duty of the legislature to protect and promote these vital interests by such measures for the encouragement of temperance and virtue and such restrictions upon vice and immorality of every sort as are deemed necessary for the public welfare." In these anxious days of strife between opinions and doctrines of every sort, when at times it seems as if the foundations of what is good and true, what is upright and just are about to be uprooted, let us never forget the solemn declaration proclaimed by Wyoming's fundamental charter that—"Absolute, arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority."

Looking into the past through the lapse of decades, may we not say regarding the finished product of the Constitutional Convention as did Benjamin Franklin, when he urged the signing of that other instrument designed for a more

majestic purpose, the Federal Constitution: "I agree to this Constitution with all of its faults—if they are such—because I think a general government necessary for us and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing to the people if well administered; and I believe, further, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it when the people shall be so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other; * * * It astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching as near to perfection as it does."

This day will soon end. All that constitutes this celebration will soon cease to be seen or heard. Not until another fifty years shall have elapsed can these ceremonies again be performed. But of one indubitable and changeless fact we may feel assured, and it is that when in that distant, future day, others shall gather to again commemorate the hundredth anniversary of our State, in contemplating the record that Time shall have then unrolled they will find high incentive to glory in and emulate that record.

For, in paraphrase of what another has so beautifully said, may we not think that every human action gains in honor, in grace, in all true magnificence by its regard to things that are to come. It is the far sight, the quick and confident patience, that, above all other attributes, separate man from man, and near him to his Maker; and there is no action, nor art, nor deed whose majesty we may not measure by this test. Therefore, as we the people of Wyoming administer the government those who have gone before have bequeathed to us, let us never, never forget that we do this for the future. Let it not be for present delight, nor for present use alone; let it be such work as our descendants will thank us for. Let us conceive as we use this government with lofty purpose and with ever higher objectives, the time will surely come when what has thus been done will be held honored because our hands have touched the work.

Let us believe that men will then say, as they look upon the fruition of our labors and the wrought substance of them, as we do now for those who have passed beyond the glorious sunset glow of the golden West—"See! this our fathers did for us."

THAT'S WYOMING!

Words and Music by
Jack Bryant

Golden Anniversary Theme Song

There's a state we all hold dear,
And we love her, never fear,
Where the skies are bright and clear,
That's Wyoming!
With her cattle ranges wide,
And her mountains side by side,
Where good fellowship abides,
That's Wyoming!
Though you wander o'er the earth,
Far from home or place of birth,
You're still taken at your worth,
In Wyoming!
In her friendly atmosphere,
There's contentment and good cheer;
You are always welcome here,
In Wyoming!

CHORUS

Then we'll stand and sing the praise
Of this land where wild life plays,
Where the saddle horse and dogie
Still range free.
'Neath her mellow western skies,
There's no pretense or disguise;
Every man is his own size
In Wyoming!

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STATE-WIDE CELEBRATION OF GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY IS COLORFUL EVENT IN CHEYENNE

In a manner most befitting the dignity of such an occasion, Cheyenne assumed the position of a royal hostess on July 25, 1940, when thousands of visitors from throughout the length and breadth of the State were welcomed in celebration of Wyoming's Golden Anniversary of Statehood.

Before a great assemblage of spectators who gathered to pay tribute to the pioneers of those early days, an impressive and appropriate program was given at ten o'clock from a speaker's platform located at the southern entrance of the Capitol, and on the site where a similar event took place fifty years previously in celebration of the news that Wyoming was to be the forty-fourth star in the field of blue of the American flag.

An hour preceding the program, these same throngs had watched a colorful and spectacular pageant-parade, called the "Parade of the Governors," wind its mile-and-a-half length along the tree-bordered streets of the "Magic City of the Plains," while gleaming in the July sun, the golden dome of the Capitol towered above the scene.

The pageant was a vivid portrayal of Wyoming's romantic past, and its success was credited largely to Mr. Arthur Black, of Cheyenne, who had charge of this important celebration feature.

Immediately after the parade, the following speaking and musical program was given, at which former Wyoming Governors and those pioneers who could claim fifty years continuous residence in the State, were honored guests:

Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, State Librarian and Historian, in charge of program arrangements, introduced the presiding chairman, Mr. C. D. Williamson, of Hanna, Wyoming, as follows:

"It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you the presiding chairman, a former State Legislator from Carbon County and a man who has, for many years, been closely connected with the history of our State by taking an active part in the development of its banking and various industrial activities.

"He has given freely of his time and energy in furthering the interests of Wyoming, and the committee appreciates his accepting its invitation to assist in this Golden Anniversary observance."

Mr. Williamson, in his brief introductory remarks, said, in part:

"We have gathered here to rejoice at the completion of fifty years of sovereign membership in that great unity of states, which, as a nation—if we use our heritage wisely—will stem and reverse the tide of encroachment on individual freedom and the democratic way of life which is at present so rampant.

"In the life of nations, fifty years seems but a brief interval, but when one surveys the changes brought about in that space of time in this New World of ours and notes the advancement in industry, science, the arts, the development of natural resources, the progress in social relationships, we cannot fail to be impressed with our obligation to diligently apply ourselves to building well that portion of the superstructure of corporate life allotted to our generation, whose foundations have been so wisely laid by those who have gone before us.

"As we assemble here today to celebrate our State's Golden Anniversary, we are happy to acknowledge and pay tribute to those who in years past have done so much to make that progress possible. We have in mind those courageous, hardy pioneers who first established trails through, and homes in, what we now know as Wyoming. We think of those who gave their lives to maintain the outposts of our people against a hostile and savage race. We think of the pony express riders and the railroad builders; of those who first recognized the value of the wild meadows and mountain ranges for the production of livestock—soon to become so necessary to a fast-growing nation. We think of those who sought out and began the development of our vast resources of coal and other minerals. And we think of those men and women who gave unstinting service to the upbuilding of an orderly government in this vast area. To all of these we are humbly grateful and to them we accord appreciative recognition, and we honor their memory."

Flag-raising Is Impressive Moment

One of the impressive moments of the program occurred when a fifteen-foot American flag was raised on a newly installed pole a few feet west of the speakers' stand. The flag slowly arose and unfurled in the breeze while the National Guard Band played the inspiring strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner," after which Miss Frances Maraldo sang, "God Bless America." The "Banner" was the same which

had unfurled from the top of the Capitol at the Statehood celebration fifty years previously.*

Governor Smith Greets Former Governors and Pioneers

The present Governor, the Honorable Nels H. Smith, introduced former Governors, the Honorable Bryant B. Brooks, and Mrs. Brooks, of Casper, Wyoming; the Honorable Leslie A. Miller, and Mrs. Miller, of Cheyenne; the Honorable Fenimore Chatterton, Arvada, Colorado; and the Honorable Alonzo M. Clark, of Cheyenne.

Governor Smith extended cordial greetings and expressed regret at the absence of four other former Governors who are still living, but were unable to be present, namely: Honorable John E. Osborne, Honorable Frank L. Houx, Honorable Frank E. Lueas and Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross.

In his greeting, Governor Smith addressed the audience as follows:

“I am grateful, indeed, that it is my happy privilege as Governor, to extend to you the official welcome and greetings of the Government of the State of Wyoming on this occasion, commemorating the Fiftieth anniversary of Wyoming’s statehood. To you who have come here from outside points, far and near—we hope your visit with us will be so pleasant and interesting that you will come again—and often. To all, we hope that this occasion will be of such inspiration that we may all cooperate, more actively than ever before, to the continued upbuilding, development and progress of this great State and Nation.

“It is, indeed, gratifying to have with us today so many old-timers—men and women who have endured the hardships of pioneer times and have had such an active part in making life here easier for those who follow. I wish it were possible to have each and every one of you come up to the platform and be introduced, so that we might all know you better, but time forbids. No less happy are we to welcome you of the younger generation, for it is upon you and your efforts that the present and future welfare of our great State depends. God grant that the combined efforts of all, young as well as old, may permit us to look forward confidently to the continuation of peace, happiness and progress in that democratic

*On display in the speakers' stand was another historic American flag—a silk one which had been presented to the State by the women of Wyoming at the Statehood celebration of 1890. Both banners are the property of the Wyoming Historical Department.

way of life which is being destroyed in other parts of the world.

"We are fortunate, again, to have with us today several former Governors of the State of Wyoming. We are happy they have found it possible to take part with us in this celebration. Each, in his own time and way, has served our people ably, constructively and effectively. We are proud to honor them on this occasion. . . ."

Several introductions were made by Mr. Williamson, including Mrs. Nels H. Smith, the present "First Lady," and Mrs. Jean Emerson Grothe, formerly Mrs. Frank C. Emerson, who before her subsequent marriage to Mr. Grothe, was the widow of Governor Emerson. He died in office on February 18, 1931.

Greetings Brought by Convention Stenographer

Interest then centered on Miss Louise S. Smith, of Cheyenne, when she brought a message and greeting as a lone representative of the Constitutional Convention held at Cheyenne in September, 1889.

"Little did I think when a young stenographer reporting the proceedings of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention, that of all of those who had a part in that Convention, I alone would be here today to celebrate with you, 'Wyoming's Golden Anniversary,'" said Miss Smith.

"My joy in being at this birthday party is mingled with sorrow and regret when I remember that all but two of the fine and forthright men who framed our Constitution, have passed away. Their ride on the range is over. . . .

"The years pass swiftly by. Many of you who are here today will be present when there will be one hundred candles on Wyoming's birthday cake. God grant she may then, as now, be part of a free America,

"The land of youth and freedom
beyond the ocean bars;
Where the air is full of sunlight,
and the flag is full of stars'."

The two living delegates of the Convention mentioned by Miss Smith, and from whom she read messages to the audience, were: Mr. Henry S. Elliott, of Seattle, Washington, and Mr. William E. Chaplin, of Van Nuys, California.

Pennsylvania Sends Greetings—Scroll and Gift

An incident befitting the program was the presentation of a scroll and a 44-star American flag from Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, though Mr. Marshall S. Reynolds, of Cheyenne,

Wyoming, a native son of the former State, who made the following remarks:

"At this our observance of the Golden Jubilee of the admission of the State of Wyoming to the Union July 10, 1890, we find it of particular interest to the people of the State of Pennsylvania, and especially of Wyoming Valley, as evidenced by the beautiful scroll on parchment presented by the Wyoming Valley Chamber of Commerce of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania in the name of the people of Wyoming Valley.

"Wyoming was organized as a Territory July 25, 1868, from what was a portion of Dakota, Utah and Idaho, and it was then that the name was selected. A large number of Pennsylvania pioneers were in the state, and, while it is unknown who first suggested the name, it is fairly well established that it was given to the state at that time.

"The name 'Wyoming' is a corruption of the word 'Waugh-Wau-Wa-Me' of the Delaware Indians, and, while to many of us in the State of Pennsylvania the meaning of the word was 'Mountains and Valleys Alternating,' it has been frequently explained that the meaning of the word is 'Upon the Great Plain.'

"Under date of July 23, 1890, Mr. Wesley Johnson, Secretary of the Wyoming Commemorative Association, wrote to the Hon. Francis Warren, Governor of Wyoming at the time of its admission, 'As the new Wyoming has now advanced to the dignity of statehood, I have taken the liberty, as Secretary of the Wyoming Commemorative Association, of forwarding to you, the Governor of the 44th Commonwealth, a copy of our Memorial Volume containing a correct report of the 100th year commemorative observance of the battle and massacre of Wyoming July 3, 1778-1878.'

"Old Wyoming feels justly proud of the honor of having given her name to a member of the great sisterhood of states. May the child namesake emulate the example of the mother, Wyoming, of bloody memory, and in all things show it is worthy of bearing the name of the beautiful and classic valley here in Pennsylvania, so rich in patriotic memories and immortalized by the poetry of Campbell, as portrayed in the life of his ideal Gertrude, endeared to our people of the 3rd of July massacre, and the sad story of Frances Slocum and her life long captivity among the savages and withal, bearing within its ample bosom, untold wealth of anthracite not second in importance to the commerce of the world to the rich gold fields of the Black Hills and your own Rocky Mountain State."

"To which, Governor Warren replied in part, 'The 44th, and the youngest state in the Union, sends you greetings,

and confident assurance that the child and namesake will ever emulate the virtues and patriotism of the mother—the Wyoming of that historic Valley of bloody memory.'

"At the request of Hon. Edward J. Quinn, President, Hon. William N. Reynolds, Jr., Vice-President, J. Arthur Bolender, Secretary of the Wyoming Valley Chamber of Commerce of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, I have the honor of presenting to you this scroll and flag commemorative of those sturdy pioneers of the Wyoming Valley from which the Wyoming Territory received its name. The people of that Valley are justly proud in having contributed Wyoming to the State and the United States and for the additional fact that Wyoming Statehood has kept the faith.

"It is with pleasure that I say, that as early as 1635, my ancestors settled in and near what is now known as the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania and have continued to reside there through these many years and that the people of that locality where I was born, educated and first practiced law, with my Uncle William N. Reynolds and William N. Reynolds, Jr., were so thoughtful as to request me to become the agent in presenting this beautiful scroll and flag to this State with their good wishes that in the next 50 years there will come a deepening, widening and strengthening of the foundations laid so splendidly by those hardy pioneers who left one Wyoming wrested from the eastern wilderness, to make a greater one among the western mountains."

To which Governor Nels H. Smith replied in part: "The history of the Empire Builders tells us of the hardy pioneers who left the great Wyoming Valley to establish a greater Wyoming in the Rocky Mountains. This State since its admission has made tremendous strides forward in the past sixty years, and we believe that its future is assured for even a greater place among the several states of the Union. The people of our great Commonwealth are deeply appreciative of the continued good will of those loyal citizens in the community from which we obtained the name Wyoming, and especially so to the Wilkes-Barre Wyoming Valley Chamber of Commerce.

"It is especially gratifying that you should be requested to present this beautiful scroll and flag since your ancestors lived in Wyoming Valley in Colonial times and up to 1842 when Wyoming County was set aside as a separate county and carved out of Luzerne County.

"I accept this scroll and flag of forty-four stars in the name of the People of the State of Wyoming.

"Please convey in behalf of our people my every good wish to President Edward J. Quinn, William N. Reynolds, Jr., Vice-President, J. Arthur Bolender, Secretary, and all members of the Chamber of Commerce and invite them to visit our state at their convenience."

Chief Justice Riner Delivers Scholarly Oration

A highlight of the occasion was the Golden Anniversary address by the Honorable William A. Riner, Chief Justice of the Wyoming Supreme Court, Cheyenne, whose scholarly oration appears elsewhere in this issue of the ANNALS.

Several musical numbers were interspersed throughout the program, including the Golden Anniversary theme song, "That's Wyoming," written by Mr. Jack Bryant and sung by Mr. Norman Stark. There were two numbers by the Philomelians, Cheyenne men's chorus, with piano accompaniment by Mrs. Eva Viox, whose "Anvil Chorus" from *Il Trovatore*, by Verdi, was also a reminder of the first celebration fifty years ago, when the same selection was sung to anvil accompaniment.

Bishop Patrick A. McGovern, of Cheyenne, gave the invocation and the Rev. Walter Dodds, of Laramie, Wyoming, pronounced the benediction.

Activities for the day were sponsored jointly by the Wyoming Golden Anniversary Committee, the Laramie County Committee, Frontier Days Committee and the Cheyenne Chamber of Commerce.

Members of the Wyoming Golden Anniversary committee were Governor Nels H. Smith, Mr. George O. Houser, Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Industry; Miss Esther Anderson, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Mrs. Gladys F. Riley, State Librarian and Historian; and Mr. John Charles Thompson, of the Historical Landmark Commission.

Members of the Laramie County Golden Anniversary Committee were Mr. Frank Clark and Mrs. Katharine A. Morton.



MARY G. BELLAMY

Wyoming's First Woman Legislator

By Eva Floy Wheeler*

In 1910, forty-one years after Wyoming women had been granted the rights of equal suffrage, Mrs. Mary G. Bellamy received the honor of being elected the first woman in Wyoming to sit as a duly elected and qualified member of the State Legislature. The Wyoming Tribune of Cheyenne, January 10, 1911, states, "The committee on credentials is as follows: Mary G. Bellamy of Albany," and lists twelve other members. In the column, "Legislative Notes" of the following day appears this paragraph:

"Mrs. Mary Bellamy, the only woman representative who

*BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Eva Floy Wheeler was born near Cestos, Oklahoma, May 12, 1900, and taught school in Kansas prior to moving to Colorado with her family in 1919. She holds a degree of Bachelor of Science from the Colorado Agricultural College at Fort Collins, and a degree of Master of Arts from the University of Wyoming. At Fort Collins, in June, 1922, she was chosen the first Home Demonstration agent and Girls' Club leader for Larimer County, and was serving as Colorado State Nutrition Specialist at the time of her marriage in 1925 to Sherman S. Wheeler, now

ever sat in a Wyoming legislative body, was paid a nice compliment by being elected as chairman of the committee on credentials. Mrs. Bellamy comes from a family of fighting Democrats, and possesses a very independent spirit, which has distinguished her many times in her life."

On January 11, when the House convened, slips of paper containing the name of each county, were put into a hat to be drawn for the choice of seats. The Wyoming Tribune remarks, "The House is very gallant and assigned the honor of drawing the slips to Mary G. Bellamy." Mrs. Bellamy was chosen for several committees, but she elected only two according to the Wyoming Tribune of January 12, "The Public Buildings and Institutions Committee and The Education and Public Libraries Committee."

Mrs. Bellamy's interest in women and children had led her into an intensive study of the laws for their welfare. Since the constitution of Wyoming in 1890 was based on the laws of California which had the Community Property Law and on other laws which were adopted from states based on the Common Law of England, the women of Wyoming were governed by conflicting laws. They had neither the dower right nor the partnership law so could exercise almost no property claims. Mrs. Bellamy introduced, in her own name, a bill which would permit a judge to appoint a married woman as an administrator of an estate. She was instrumental, through the cooperation of other legislators from her county and her colleagues in the legislature, in securing the introduction and passage of several bills which improved the situation of women and children and protected their rights.

The food laws of Wyoming were so lax that goods of inferior quality were being dumped onto the merchants of Wyoming. Mrs. Bellamy was successful in promoting laws which helped to correct this condition. Under her leadership, a measure was passed to transfer women prisoners from the Wyoming State Penitentiary to other states having separate quarters for women prisoners, and for an institution for boys convicted of crime, the Boys' Industrial School near

Associate Professor of Animal Production at the University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Mrs. Wheeler was a member of Phi Zeta Chi (social sorority), and is a member of Alpha Phi Epsilon, (national literary), Pi Kappa Delta, (national debating), Omicron Nu, (national home economics honor society) and is a pledge to Epsilon Sigma Omicron Sorority. She is a member of the Laramie branch of the American Association of University Women, the Federated Women's clubs, the Agricultural Experiment Station Women's club, the Phi Delta Wives and Mothers club, and the Women's Faculty club of the University of Wyoming.

Professor and Mrs. Wheeler have a daughter and three sons.

Worland. Indicative of the success of the bill for funds for the University of Wyoming which was piloted safely through the legislature by Mrs. Bellamy's efforts are the Agricultural Hall and the home of the President of the University.

The Woman's Club of Laramie appointed Mrs. Bellamy to interview legislators and others and secure the addition of a Home Economics Department to the University. In Cheyenne she enlisted the able assistance of Mrs. Gibson Clark, Mrs. William C. Deming, and Mrs. Frank N. Sheik of Wheatland. These women succeeded in creating enough favorable public opinion and promises of favor from legislators for the bill that when it was presented with its accompanying bill for appropriation the measures were both accepted. In making a motion for a "call of the House," she was able to defeat a bill which was introduced to repeal a statute which prohibited the sale of liquor in unincorporated towns.

Mrs. Bellamy became the leader of the minority because her name came first alphabetically on the roll call and there were always some who follow the leader in the matter of voting. She accepted the responsibility with all seriousness and was present at every roll call except one afternoon when she was the guest of honor of the Commandant and his wife of Fort D. A. Russell¹ at a reception and a review of troops planned in her honor. Her keenness to grasp a situation, her ability to work with people and organize them into powerful groups, her intelligent straight-forward way of thinking, her gift as a public speaker, made her an outstanding member of the legislature and helped her to secure the passage of many laws which she felt necessary at that time. "She was held in high esteem by her colleagues and her desk was frequently decked with beautiful flowers, the gift of fellow members, friends, and admirers of her activities."²

Mrs. Bellamy was born in Richwood, Missouri, Friday, December 13, 1861, the daughter of Catherine Horine whose parents were Virginians of Huguenot ancestry and Charles Godat whose family were manufacturers of jewelry in Switzerland. She was named Marie, and Lake Marie in the Snowy Range west of Laramie was named in her honor. She is affectionately known to her girlhood friends as "Molly," but when she entered public work she used the name, "Mary." Her father died when she was a baby. Later when an older sister died, leaving a baby son, Mrs. Godat and Mary moved to Laramie to care for the baby. They arrived in Laramie in

¹ Name changed to Fort Francis E. Warren.

² "Women of Wyoming," by Cora Beach. Casper, S. E. Boyer, 1927-1929. 2 Volumes. A history of outstanding women in Wyoming.

1873, five years after the frontier town had been the "end of track" for the Union Pacific railroad. It took them four days to reach Laramie by train from Galena, Illinois. Mary prepared herself for teaching and followed this profession for several years, teaching in Nevada, Laramie, and Johnson County, Wyoming. When she taught in Johnson County it usually took from seven to ten days to make the trip from her school to Laramie.

Mrs. Bellamy describes the social affairs at Fort Sanders, and remembers vividly the appearance in Laramie of the personal band of Emperor William of Germany which toured the United States during the Centennial celebration in 1876. The concert also included the Fort Sanders Band which was given the second highest rating in the United States according to Army reports.

In 1886, Marie Godat married Charles Bellamy of Boston, Massachusetts, a civil engineer, who died in 1934. Their sons, Benjamin C. and Fulton D. are civil engineers living in Wyoming. Freeman G., the twin brother of Fulton D., died in infancy.

Mrs. Bellamy was among the eight women who met in the Laramie County Library, located in the old Central School Building in Cheyenne, in October, 1894 for the purpose of organizing a woman's club. The Woman's Club of Cheyenne was organized and in 1896, this club affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This was the first club in Wyoming to seek membership in the national federation. Mrs. Bellamy is one of the six honorary members of the Cheyenne club. In 1898 Mrs. Bellamy returned to Laramie and her zeal and enthusiasm were instrumental in organizing the Woman's Club of Laramie, combining all the study groups active at that time. This club also affiliated with the General Federation. On November 10, 1903 Mrs. Bellamy suggested to the Laramie club the possibility of a state federation and was appointed chairman of the committee to suggest the formation of such an organization to other clubs in the state. The ensuing correspondence resulted in a meeting in Cheyenne, January 19-21, 1904 at which time the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs was organized. Mrs. Bellamy was the official delegate from Laramie, and has the distinction of being a charter member of the Woman's Club of Cheyenne, the Woman's Club of Laramie, and the Wyoming State Federation of Women's Clubs. For forty-six years she has maintained her active participation in this organization, working faithfully and untiringly for the cause of woman and her betterment. She was elected one of three

directors at the organization of the Laramie club and filled that office until 1939 when she was named to a permanent position on the Board of Directors of that organization. In addition she has served as president, official delegate and member of committees too many times to enumerate here. She was made a delegate for life to the conventions of the Wyoming Federation of Women's Clubs. Her keen intellect and abundant energy made her a leader in suggesting work to be done and in helping to fulfill many plans for entertaining the community, raising money for worthy causes, and furthering the aims of the General Federation. On March 29, 1940, she was chosen by the Woman's Club of Laramie as the pioneer club woman who has had the longest and most outstanding continuous record of leadership in the local club. At the State Convention of the Federated Women's Clubs of Wyoming, at Riverton, September 23-25, 1940, Mrs. Bellamy was chosen as the Wyoming woman having the longest, most outstanding record of leadership in the Federated Women's Clubs of Wyoming. She has represented Wyoming at the council of the General Federation in Portland, Oregon, the National Biennial Convention in Denver, Colorado, the National Headquarters in Washington, D. C., the conventions of the Western Federations at Los Angeles, California, and the State Federation Conventions in Massachusetts, Colorado, Utah, and California.

In 1902, Mrs. Bellamy was elected County Superintendent of Schools of Albany County. She re-arranged the school districts to provide a more equitable distribution of revenue. She was responsible for placing a dictionary and a copy of *Birds of Wyoming* by W. C. Knight, illustrated by Frank Bond, in every rural school in the county. In the larger schools more reference books were added to the libraries. She initiated through the State Federation of Women's Clubs the first prizes for essays in High Schools on patriotic subjects and for prizes among club women for a State Federation song. Her theme, "Know Wyoming," interested several people in studying Wyoming and the talks and lectures they prepared started them on the way to national fame in the field chosen first as a hobby.

During the World War, Mrs. Bellamy was active in Red Cross work, being appointed Albany County chairman of the Woman's Division of the Liberty Loan drives and Laramie City chairman in charge of parades, programs for selling Liberty Bonds, and maintaining interest in the support of a French orphan adopted by the Laramie Woman's Club. She spared no effort in drawing the entire county together to work for a common cause.

The Council of Women Voters won the attention of this alert leader. She attended the meetings of the National Council in San Francisco in 1914, served as vice-president

for the National Council, and promoted harmony among the various factions of the council until she won the title of "peace envoy of the conference." She was awarded the honor of extending to the conference the invitation of Governor Kendrick of Wyoming to hold the next conference in Cheyenne, Wyoming, the first state in the United States to grant free and equal suffrage to women. Mrs. Bellamy was sent by Wyoming as an envoy to the last great rally for women suffrage which was held in Washington, D. C., in 1917. Her influence was sought in securing the votes of congressmen definitely opposed to suffrage. The practical suggestions by the Wyoming envoy won the approval of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, a foremost leader from Chicago, other envoys to the rally, and the congressmen. She was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention and was named on the committee to notify President Wilson of his renomination.

In honor of Mrs. Bellamy's efforts to collect a historical museum in Laramie illustrating the work of women in the home and in public life, the Woman's Club of Laramie voted, on January 26, 1935, to name the collection, "The Mary Bellamy Collection."³

Mrs. Bellamy is a gifted speaker and was honored with the request to introduce Vice-President Marshall to a Cheyenne audience of five thousand. December 10, 1939, she gave the principal address at a celebration in Cheyenne to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of the granting of equal suffrage to the women of Wyoming. She has taken a leading part in the programs of the women's clubs in the western states too many times to mention in this summary.

Not only will Mary G. Bellamy's name remain in history because she was the first woman to be elected to the Wyoming Legislature, but it will become more prominent in its annals as the full value of her outstanding personality and accomplishments becomes known to its citizens. She has devoted her life to the betterment of womanhood and her influence has been felt in every state where the women have secured the franchise through her efforts. Unselfish with her time, her efforts, and her money, Mary G. Bellamy has contributed to other women a broader vision of endeavor and an inspiration to extend their activities and interests for the benefit of mankind.

³ Minutes of the Woman's Club of Laramie.

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**HISTORY OF WYOMING, WRITTEN BY C. G. COUTANT,
PIONEER HISTORIAN, AND HERETOFORE
UNPUBLISHED**

Chapter VIII

Laramie County

Post Office Established at Cheyenne—First City Election, September 7, 1867—Pat Mullaly and “Limber Jim” Killed.

Affairs in Cheyenne at this period were in a very unsettled condition. There was no form or semblance of government of any kind—life and property were in jeopardy day and night, and the respectable class of people did not feel safe even in their own homes. Robberies and lesser crimes were committed daily and nightly and there was no authority as yet vested in anybody to prevent it. Every man was his own ruler and a large portion of them desired to be rulers of their neighbors, also. To add to the general unsettled state of affairs, there was no way of obtaining mail except by express and this was a very unsatisfactory medium of communicating with the outer world. As this state of affairs was almost intolerable, some of the leading spirits in Cheyenne began to cast about to see whether some remedy could not be applied and as the result of their efforts a post office was established in Cheyenne on the 9th day of September, 1867, with Thos. E. McLeland as postmaster. After moving from “pillar to post” for some time, the post office was finally established on the first floor of a two-story frame building on the southeast corner of Seventeenth and Ferguson Streets, where at the present time (1886) stands the magnificent brick block occupied in part as a banking house by Morton E. Post & Company.

The next step toward bringing order out of chaos after taking the preliminary steps which resulted in the establishment of a post office, was to organize some sort of a government under which life and property might be afforded some degree of protection at least. For this purpose a meeting was called and met at the large store of A. C. Beckwith, August 9, 1867, which resulted in the appointment of a committee, of which Judge J. R. Whitehead was chairman, to prepare and present the draft of a charter. In due time another meeting was held and a charter adopted by the almost unanimous vote of the respectable people of the city. Under this charter an election was held September 7th, which resulted in the election of H. M. Hook, mayor; A. C. Beckwith, W. H. Harlow, S. M. Preshaw, R. E. Ta'ny, J. B. Thompson and J. C. Willis for councilmen. J. R. White-

head, city attorney; Thomas E. McLeland, city clerk; N. H. Meldrum, treasurer; and Edward Melanger, city marshal. The Whitehead Block, which was at that time not only nearly finished but the only suitable place, was selected as the headquarters of the new city government and it was here that the first meeting of the provisional city council was held. The new city government had many difficulties to contend with but it struggled on manfully and with good results. Under the power conferred by the charter, J. M. Slaughter was appointed City Justice and later on under the provisional county government Wm. H. Miller was appointed and officiated as "Judge of the Supreme Court." All of these precautions, however, did not result in impressing the lawless characters in the city so as to put a stop to the lawlessness which largely prevailed. To uphold and sustain the city authorities in their efforts to maintain law and order, fifty-eight of the leading citizens of the city volunteered to act when called upon as special officers. Among this number were Judge Kuykendall, Henry Houseman, T. W. Rutledge, J. R. Whitehead, J. H. Gildersleeve and other prominent citizens. The members of this volunteer organization (or part of them at least) would sleep every night at the Whitehead Block in the court room in order to be ready for any emergency, and it was well that they did so for night after night there were such riotous and diabolical proceedings in various parts of the city that had it not been for the assistance rendered by these brave and fearless men, Cheyenne would probably have burned to the ground ere it had seen its first anniversary.

On the night of September 16, 1867 an event occurred in the northwestern portion of the city, then more populous than at present, which will always be remembered by all of the "Old Timers" who were residents of "The Magic City of the Plains" at that time. The event referred to was the killing of Pat Mullaly and "Limber Jim." Of the latter but little was known at the time, for he was a comparatively new comer in the city. Pat Mullaly, who was at the time of his death one of the members of the special police force of fifty-eight, had been in Cheyenne from the very first and had many friends among the people of the city. "Pat" in these days had a hay ranch over on the Box Elder and was also in business in Cheyenne. Shortly after the town was started, Mullaly built the two-story frame buildings on the corner of Thomes and Sixteenth streets, which at the present time (1886) is owned by L. R. Bresnahan. In this building Pat opened a saloon and for some time did a thriving business. Eventually, however, some very bad characters among whom was "Limber Jim"—who

if he had any other name did not see fit to announce it—began to flock around him and he became somewhat demoralized.

As the result of his various sayings and doings, Mullaly got into a quarrel with a woman who went by the name of "Lead Beader" and who kept a saloon and place of resort in the northwestern portion of the city not far from where at this date the old Dodge House stands. Certain parties who frequented the place alluded to became involved in the quarrel also, but at length an understanding was reached—as Pat inferred—and on the evening of September 16th, Pat Mullaly, Limber Jim and two females went up to the saloon of "Lead Beader" for the purpose, as Mullaly expressed it, of "setting up the wine." The door was closed but it was at length forced open by Mullaly, who with "Limber Jim," close behind, entered the house. As he did so, a shot fired by some party from under a bed in an adjoining room, the door of which was open, took effect in Mullaly's side or breast and killed him almost instantly. "Limber Jim" turned to retreat and as he did so he was shot in the back by someone in the building, but not before he had fired one shot from a revolver wounding "Lead Beader," the woman who kept the house, in the right arm. He ran about fifty yards from the house when he dropped dead in a pile of lumber. Several shots were fired in all and inside of five minutes after the first one was heard there were as many as twelve hundred people around the place where the shooting had occurred. Judge Kuykendall, who as before stated, was one of the special officers and slept that night at the city headquarters in the Whitehead Block, was one of the first on the ground and arrived in time to see Mullaly breathe his last. As soon as it became known who it was that had been killed the crowd resolved itself into a mob, and not only the building in which the shooting took place, but others adjoining, were burned to the ground, the flames lighting up the entire city. The city witnessed a reign of terror for the balance of the night and in some places where people were fortunate enough to have cellars, they resorted to them as shots were being fired in all directions. Among those who were driven below that eventful night were W. S. Hurlbut and Frank Hurlbut at their drug store, which had been opened on Eddy Street in the building now owned and occupied by S. L. Moyer. Among the most dangerous characters on the "warpath" that night was a fellow named Wall, who was finally seized and locked up in an old building not far from where the Cheyenne Gas Company works have since been built. The mob set out to break in the building, but were beaten back by the special police.

Some three miles east of the city were camped about 400 graders and word was sent to them by the mob to come up and help them burn the town. As soon as this was known word was sent to the military authorities at Fort Russell of what was in prospect and asking for assistance. In reply to this call three companies of infantry came down on the "double jump," and were soon followed by the companies of cavalry. The arrival of the troops put an end to all further rioting for that night. The graders who had but little disposition to join the mob remained at their camp and toward morning the mob, which had made the city hideous for most of the night, dispersed to their various homes and resorts. From the fact that all "old timers" in Cheyenne regard the "night when Pat Mullaly was killed" as one of the most eventful nights in the early history of the city, a more extended mention of it has been made than there otherwise would have been.

Chapter IX

Laramie County

First Newspaper in Cheyenne—First Territorial County Election, October 8, 1867—Lot Jumping—Murder of Mead and Hazlett.

Up to this period in the then short history of Cheyenne, the town had been without a newspaper of any kind, but on the 19th day of September, 1867, "The Cheyenne Daily Leader" made its first appearance, N. A. Baker being its first editor and proprietor. It was of course warmly greeted, its reception being such that two other newspapers were started shortly afterwards: "The Daily Argus," L. L. Bedell, editor, October 25th, and the "Rocky Mountain Star," O. F. Williams, editor, December 8, 1867. Of these papers and of others which made their appearance later, something will be said farther along.

What is now Laramie County was then nothing but an out-lying portion of Dakota and so far away from the "mother territory" that but little was known as to what was being done there and most of the people cared less than they knew. It was felt, however, that a provisional county organization would greatly aid the law abiding citizens in preserving order and protecting life and property. With this end in view, a meeting was called and held in the Whitehead Block, September 27th, H. M. Hook, mayor of the city presiding with Judge Whitehead officiating as secretary. The result of the meeting was that J. R. Whitehead, T. J. Street and L. L. Bedell were appointed com-

missioners to parcel out the imaginary county into districts which was done, and an election held October 8th for "all the territorial county and township officers, provided for by the laws of Dakota" and at which election about everybody who had been in the country ten days or more were allowed to vote if they so desired. The number of votes polled at this election was 1,924 nearly all of them for the only ticket in the field. The following were elected: J. H. Casement (voted for) as delegate in Congress; J. R. Whitehead, member of the legislature; M. L. Hinman, C. L. Howell and W. L. Hopkins, county commissioners. W. L. Kuykendall, Judge of Probate; T. J. Street, County Attorney; J. H. Creighton, Register of Deeds; D. J. Sweeney, Sheriff; L. L. Bedell, Treasurer; James Irwin, Coroner; J. H. Gildersleeve, Superintendent of Schools, and Frank Landberg, Surveyor.

The idea in voting for Casement as delegate in Congress was, that as there would be two or more candidates for delegate over in the "mother territory." Mr. Casement might, if everybody voted for him, have a plurality, and thereby Cheyenne (virtually) have a delegate at Washington of its own choosing. Like the provisional city government, the county organization was based solely upon the will and consent of the people, and had no authority outside of that in a strict legal sense. This step, however, proved to have been one taken in the right direction for the county authorities greatly aided those of the city in maintaining law and order from that time forward, until a permanent local government was established. Shortly after this step was taken, another large installment of respectable citizens came forward and volunteered their services as special officers when called upon. It was well that these precautionary steps were taken in time, for shortly after a systematic process of lot jumping was inaugurated by a group of "hood-lums" who came up from the vicinity of Julesburg and elsewhere, and these men in conjunction with a respectable—in numbers only—hoodlum element in the city, undertook once more to "run the city" as they termed it, and exceedingly lively times followed during the continuance of which many shooting affairs took place among which were two or three downright murders. One of this character—and a double murder at that—occurred late in November. Four men named Mead, Hazlett, Shepherd and Cullen, prior to that time, had been living in a "dugout" across Crow Creek and just north of the U. P. railroad bridge, when one morning, early, Cullen started out earlier than the rest, taking his gun and those of the others along with him. He then opened fire upon his companions left behind. Mead was shot and instantly killed;

Hazlett mortally and Shepherd dangerously wounded. Hazlett died the next day, but Shepherd eventually recovered. Cullen attempted to escape, but was captured before he could be tried, escaped again and has never been heard of since. This incident and many others of a similar character which occurred about that time fully illustrate the situation so far as security to life and property were concerned at the close of the year 1867.

(To be continued)

EARLY-DAY LIFE TRACED BY COLLECTION OF MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

An interesting collection of nearly 100 items received by the Historical Department and placed on display in the State Museum during the past quarter is from Miss Gertrude Wyoming Dobbins, of Los Angeles, California. The gift is a lifetime collection by Miss Dobbins and her late mother, and is to be known as the "Emma Jane and Gertrude Wyoming Dobbins Collection."

Miss Dobbins was born in Wyoming, as her middle name would indicate, and her father, Asa C. Dobbins, was the first U. S. Weather observer in Wyoming, located at Cheyenne, in 1870. He passed away about fifty years ago.

One of the most unique items is a small brass kerosene lamp with glass chimney, which was a part of his office equipment furnished by the U. S. Government.

A lovely French doll, of 1880, with silken hair and attired in the mode of that day, is an attractive item, and is one of the prized possessions of Miss Dobbins' childhood days.

The family loved travel, and in the collection are souvenirs from the World's Fairs of the past nearly fifty years, beginning with the Chicago, or Columbian Exposition, in 1893, in which Wyoming provided a building and an exhibit. There is an assortment of badges from Cheyenne Frontier Days, beginning with the first one in 1897, and the Pioneers' Reunion at Cheyenne, in 1917, together with more than 100 other badges from political and fraternal activities over the State and Nation.

In other words, the display may be regarded as a cross-section of the history of Wyoming recorded throughout the lifetime of this one family by the gathering and preservation of emblems and mementos from various activities of community, state and nation.

It also tells the story of hundreds of other early-day Wyoming families who took part in and contributed to the building of WONDERFUL WYOMING, and who, with these pioneer women can with propriety claim, in the words of Aeneas, "All of which I saw, and part of which I was."

NEW FACTS ABOUT FORT PHILIP KEARNY

By Thomas Kearny, Kearny, N. J.

FOREWORD

The following article was sent to the Wyoming Historical Department, for publication in the ANNALS, by Mr. Thomas Kearny, of Kearny, N. J., author of the book, "General Philip Kearny, Battle Soldier of Five Wars," published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, and is printed verbatim in this issue of the ANNALS in courtesy to the author.

Mr. Kearny states two "fascinating new facts" which were omitted from the book are set forth in the article.—Ed.

During the research for the biography of Major Generals Philip and Stephen Watts Kearny, the ruthless editing of the publishers deleted two fascinating "new" facts, which make the Massacre at the Fort, popularly called Fort Phil Kearney, distinctive in the annals of the world; actually, the biographical records of which it has been said, rightly or wrongly, has not been written into American history.

President Woodrow Wilson, in unveiling the equestrian statue of Phil Kearny at the National Cemetery in Arlington, used the following sentences: "My State has written into this marble Major General Philip Kearny's Biography; 'Fought with the French in Algiers; and with the French and Italians at Solferino in the war of Italian Liberation in 1859; New Jersey honors her most distinguished soldier'; yet the true biography to my country is simply 'Phil. Kearny'." Throughout his Address, the President used the word "Phil," when referring to Kearny in the report of it, the period is used after Phil. Facts which witness to the true spelling of the name of the Fort. (See, *Infra*.) In "Lincoln," Sandburg, in his twenty references, always so calls Kearny.

On page 442 of General Philip Kearny, Secretary of War, the Honorable James W. Good's letter to Thomas Kearny—the author—is quoted as follows: "A letter from Mr. Good dated April 25th, 1925 (see Archives of his office), states that the Fort in Wyoming was named "Fort Philip Kearny," and that Fort Kearny, Nebraska, was so named for Stephen Watts Kearny, Philip Kearny's uncle, and both names in the original orders were so spelled,—never abbreviated such as 'Phil' without a period which indicates that the name was actually spelled "Philip." Thus it is that the towns of Kearny, Wyoming, and Nebraska misspell their names, at least as historically viewed—which, however, does not apply to the Nebraska Historical Society, which at the time of the acquisition by Nebraska of the site of the Old Fort Kearny Parade Grounds, caused the Legislature to name Park Kearny—

Fort KEARNY Park; also California, Kansas, and New Jersey, Phil's home;—so write the name geographically.

On page 120 of General Philip Kearny, it is written: "The overwhelming opinions of the cartographers make the territory, as far East as the Headwaters of the Gila river,—and the Rockies—a part of Alta California in 1846, when Stephen Watts Kearny occupied it for the United States;" to which the author adds that all the historians of the West, nearly, California, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, et al., make this terrain part of Nuevo Mejico. Then Mr. Kearny adds: "Kearny was governor of this terrain, including in whole or part, Nevada, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and WYOMING (the extreme and small area in the southeast), by reason of the Law of Nations, (I speak as lawyer) which holds the conqueror Military Governor." This, we believe, is a new fact in Wyoming written history; as it IS a new fact in the history of the other named States.

Now for the two new factors which are referred to in the first paragraph:

In the Minutes of the 56th Congress, Second Session, (House of Representatives Report No. 2683), occurs the following minute: "Mr. Mondell for the Committee of Military Affairs, submitted the following report: 'The Bill now before Congress provides for an appropriation of eight hundred dollars for the erection of a monument to mark the site of the battlefield known as Massacre Hill, near Sheridan, Wyoming, near the site of Old Fort Phil. Kearny. The battle has the distinction of being one of the two battles in all recorded history, in which there were no survivors left among the vanquished; the entire force of eighty-five (sic. ed.) engaged, being all killed. Secondly, the battle in which 'Repeating Arms' were used for the first time in any general engagement.'" The fact concerning the survivors, or lack of them, has been recorded on the monument, but not—we believe—that it was the second one "in recorded history." This fact about repeating arms, it is believed, has never before been recorded as history. It may be remarked that the original bill carried an appropriation of five hundred, whereas this bill by which the monument now at the Site was erected, carried eight hundred dollars.

In General Philip Kearny, two new interpretations affecting Wyoming are given, namely: "The first manoeuvre of the Mexican War, was the KEARNY EXPEDITION of 1845 to the South Pass," which was also a "Threat Against the Oregon Country," annexed the next year to the United States, as the extreme southeastern sector of Wyoming (see above)

—as well as the “terrain of ten States”—was conquered the same year by S. W. Kearny. Captain Philip Kearny, who accompanied his uncle’s “First Mexican War Manoeuvre” and the “threat against Oregon,” drew from the headwaters of the Columbia River, some water which he used to baptize his son to become General John Watts Kearny, in Calvary Episcopal Church, New York City, where Phil’s father was senior warden!

It may not be amiss, nor uninteresting, to note that just as this is written, Miss Mary Kearny, Kearny, N. J., a granddaughter of “General Philip Kearny of the Fort,” has received a letter from President Roosevelt, asking her to sponsor the Destroyer, KEARNY, named for her first cousin, Commodore Lawrence Kearny, who as Tyler Dennett, in his “Americans in Eastern Asia Write,” helped Warren Delano, Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s grandfather establish the ‘open door policy’ in China, 1842. The launching to take place on March 9th, 1940, at the Federal Shipbuilding Co. at Kearny, N. J., a town named for the Fort’s sponsor! In “General Philip Kearny,” a note of this exploit is given, and the biography of Lawrence Kearny, by Professor Carrol Storrs Alden, of the Naval Academy, gives a full account.

ACCESSIONS

July 1, 1940, to September 30, 1940

Pictures—Gifts

Fowler, Mrs. Benjamin F., 707 East 18th Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming.
Old photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Orlando King; photograph of Cherokee Bob, famous western scout. (4"x6½") (Robert Waldron, born in Loudon County, Virginia, October 8, 1836.)

Hunt, Dr. Lester C., Secretary of State, Cheyenne, Wyoming.—Photograph of Wm. E. Chaplin, Secretary of State of Wyoming, 1919-1923, signer of the State Constitution, posed with the Constitution, on July 10, 1940, at Cheyenne.

Leffler, Mrs. Leo, 517 W. 23rd Street, Cheyenne, Wyoming.—Photograph 13½"x16" Co. "H" Girl Guards at celebration of Statehood in 1890.

Pictures—Purchased

Edwards, Elsa Spear, Sheridan, Wyoming. 24 tinted photographic views, Wyoming scenes.

Books—Gifts

Spring, Agnes Wright, Cheyenne, Wyoming—A Family Trek to the Yellowstone, by Mrs. N. E. Corthell. 1928.

Books—Purchased

Burt, M. Struthers—Powder River, Let 'er Buck. 1938.

Books in Department Prior to April 1, 1939, Recently Accessioned
Coffeen, Herbert—The Teepee Book, Vols. 1 and 2, 1915, 1916.

Triggs, J. H.—History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, 1876.

Triggs, J. H.—History and Directory of Laramie City, 1875.

Manuscripts

Orr, R. S.—Agricultural Education in Public Schools of Wyoming.

Hoyt, J. W.—Life of John W. Hoyt, carbon copy of typewritten manuscript, 758 pp.

MUSEUM**Collections****The Emma Jane and Gertrude Wyoming Dobbins Collection**

Dobbins, Gertrude Wyoming, Fremont Hotel, Fourth and Olive Streets, Los Angeles, California.—

Small brass lamp used by Asa C. Dobbins in first weather bureau or station in Cheyenne, October, 1870; furnished by the Government.

Brown Betty tea pot in Dobbins family 200 years;
Small book, printed in 1752, and calendar, April, 1761;

Two beaded reticules, 150 to 200 years old;
French bisque headed doll belonging to Gertrude in 1880;
Set of doll dishes, caster, etc., 1880;
Collection of political buttons, medals and ribbon badges, including
Cheyenne First Frontier Days, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1902,
1903, 1909;
Indian beaded blanket belt and money pouch;
Papoose moccasins;
Rare Indian breast plate;
Money bag;
Mexican money bag;
Two Dobbins old family albums—many Wyoming pioneers;
Three abalone shells;
Three old sea shells;
14 Indian and other baskets;
Old Mexican plaque;
Round head piece used by women of India when carrying loads on
their heads;
Two books pressed flowers;
Statuette of Commander Dewey, of Spanish American War;
Mirror and brush given to Gertrude, Christmas, 1889;
Eskimo doll;
Old Mexico doll;
Souvenir cotton ball;
Chinese sword holder;
Chinese woman's shoe from old Chinatown, San Francisco, 1897;
Seed hand bag from Samoa;
Small cube Kansas salt from Columbia Exposition, 1893;
Tiny China marble, 100 years old;
Souvenir invitation to the Alert Fire Company "Calico Ball," 1880;
McKinley's presidential campaign souvenir, small ladder;
15 pieces of Indian pottery;
Collection of souvenir china pieces: 24 plates, some Wedgewood;
five souvenir cups and saucers; souvenir tea pot from Columbian
Exposition; cream pitcher; pickle dish; salt and pepper set
(Utah); three small souvenir glasses;
Cup, saucer and plate set of hand blown blue glass from Old Mexico;
Napkin ring, childhood gift of Frances Warren, who became the
wife of General Pershing;
Plate from Fort D. A. Russell, Spanish American War, 1898;
Package of documents, letters, etc.;
Warranty Deed, Union Pacific to Asa C. Dobbins, 1877, to lot on
East 17th Street, where weather bureau was located for many
years;
Autographed letter, Theodore Roosevelt to Gertrude Wyoming;
Invitation to Dobbins family to wedding of Frances Warren and
General John Pershing;
Invitation to Gertrude Wyoming to reception of President McKinley
at White House;
Invitation to Governor W. A. Richardson's Inauguration and Ball, 1895;
Old Cheyenne school photograph;
Photograph of last stagecoach to leave for Deadwood from Cheyenne;
Album containing foreign post cards of the world before 1914
World War;
Autographed volume of Judge Wesley P. Carroll's poems;
Photograph of Judge Wesley P. Carroll.

The Charles Anda Collection

One of the most important collections offered to the Wyoming Historical Department in recent years is that of the late Charles Anda, of Casper, Wyoming.

Several months prior to Mr. Anda's death on May 26, 1940, he offered his valuable collection of 122 firearms, swords and Indian relics, all catalogued, to the Historical Department, in consideration that the State provide suitable glass cases for exhibit of the items in the Museum.

There being no funds to finance the purchase of show cases, the State Legislature, 1941, will be asked to make an appropriation for this purpose.

In the meantime, Mrs. Anda delivered her husband's collection to the Historical Department, where it is being held in storage until such time as the State may be in position to fulfill its part of the contract in providing display cases.

Miscellaneous Gifts

Jeffrey, Henry B., 1011 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado.—Gold pen used by the Constitutional Convention delegates to sign the Constitution, September 30, 1889, at Cheyenne, and presented by the Convention delegates to donor's father, John K. Jeffrey, Secretary of the Convention.

Burdick, William A. (World War Veteran) Fort Meyer, Florida, formerly of Cheyenne.—Four pieces of paper foreign money: 10 pesos (Mexican); 50 centimes (2) (French); 1 franc (Belgian); 1 peso (Chile) (silver).

Wyoming Valley Chamber of Commerce, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, through Governor Nels H. Smith—A handsome scroll, inscribed with a message of greeting and congratulation to the people of the State of Wyoming on the 50th Anniversary of Statehood. The scroll, 17"x22" is hand lettered and ornamented with an artistic border design in water colors. Also an American Flag with 44 stars, 6'x9'.

Adamsky, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph, Cheyenne, Wyoming.—Album of the Union Pacific Railway (small book);

Homemade rolling pin by Felix Robidoux at Ft. Bridger, Wyoming, 1850's; son of Joseph Robidoux, founder of St. Joseph, Mo.; American flag 4'9"x27"; 45 stars;

Two badges from the celebration of statehood; one 3"x5", dated July 23, 1890; one 2½"x6", dated July 26, 1890, 44th star. Printed program of Statehood celebration, 1890.

Chenery, J. A. L., Riverton, Wyoming—Wyoming Statehood celebration badge of 1890; ticket of admission to inaugural ball at Cheyenne in 1889; printed program of statehood celebration held on July 23, 1890.



Dedication of Idaho-Wyoming monument on July 5, 1940, at joint Golden Anniversary Celebration, in which Governors of the two States and members of the Wyoming Landmark Commission took part: (Left to right) Mr. Warren Richardson, Commission chairman; Mr. John Charles Thompson, treasurer; Governor C. A. Bottolfsen, of Idaho; Governor Nels H. Smith, of Wyoming; Mr. Joseph Weppner, Commission secretary.

ACTIVITIES OF WYOMING HISTORICAL LANDMARK COMMISSION

TWO DEDICATORIAL TOURS ARE CONDUCTED BY THE COMMISSION

The Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission, composed of Mr. Warren Richardson, Chairman, Mr. J. S. Weppner, Secretary, and Mr. J. C. Thompson, Treasurer, sponsored two dedicatory tours during the past summer of 1940. The first tour took place July 3rd to 7th, and marked the formal beginning of the observance of Wyoming's Golden Anniversary of Statehood. The dedication of the monument at Border, Wyoming, erected in honor of Idaho's and Wyoming's fiftieth anniversary of Statehood was one of the important features

of this first tour. Following this program in rapid succession many anniversary celebrations were held in the various counties of the State throughout the summer months.

The second tour started on August 15, at Fort Laramie, and concluded at Jackson, Wyoming, on August 18.

July Tour

On Wednesday, July 3rd, 1940, at 11:30 a. m. the Historical Landmark Commission and party arrived at the site of Old Fort Supply near Robertson, Wyoming. The program which was arranged by the local community began immediately with the singing of "America" and other appropriate songs, by the choir of the local Mormon ward. The bishop of the ward gave the invocation and acted as chairman of the program. He first introduced President Tom Brough of the Lyman stake who gave a very interesting address on old Fort Supply telling how it was one of the first out-posts established by Brigham Young. Following this Mr. Weppner was introduced by the chairman and carried on the program in behalf of the Historical Landmark Commission calling first on Mr. Warren Richardson, chairman of the Commission, who made a short talk. Governor Nels H. Smith followed with a brief address. Mr. Weppner then introduced all the members of the party, some twenty state officials and their wives. The program came to a close with everyone joining in the singing of "God Bless America."

The dedicatorial party then journeyed to Mountain View where at 12:30 p. m. they were treated to a barbecue lunch after which they attended the local rodeo there. Leaving at 3:30 p. m. they continued on to Rock Springs where they spent the night.

The next morning, July 4th, at 7:00 a. m. the party left for Daniel, Wyoming, where they attended the dedication of the DeSmet Centennial celebration of a pontifical high mass said by Reverend Bishop P. A. McGovern assisted by twenty priests from throughout the State. The dedicatorial sermon which concluded the service was given by Reverend Bishop D. A. Hunt of Salt Lake City. This service was attended by five or six thousand people and included Mr. Frank Matthews of Omaha, Supreme Knight of the Knights of Columbus; U. S. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming; Governor Nels H. Smith and Mrs. Smith, and most of the Wyoming state officials.

Journeying on to the Green River Rendezvous on the nearby Vigo Miller ranch, the entire crowd were the guests at a big picnic lunch given by the Knights of Columbus of Wyoming. At 1:00 p. m. a very appropriate speaking program

was carried out which opened with an address of welcome by Governor Smith followed by a talk from U. S. Senator Joseph O'Mahoney. The principal address was given by Mr. Frank Matthews of Omaha, Supreme head of the Knights of Columbus. After the program the dedicatorial party and most of the crowd drove on to Pinedale, Wyoming, where they enjoyed a rodeo in progress there. Following this they were entertained at the summer home of Mr. and Mrs. Ted Crippa on Fremont Lake to an excellent lunch and a boat trip on beautiful Lake Fremont. The night was spent in Pinedale.

On the morning of July 5th at 7:30 a. m. the party left Pinedale arriving at Names' Hill at 10:00 o'clock where the Commission dedicated a marker which had been erected some years before. Mr. Weppner acted as chairman and the program was opened with an address by Governor Smith followed by John Charles Thompson who gave a very interesting account of the history of Names' Hill. Mr. Weppner then introduced Mrs. P. J. Quealy of Kemmerer whose late husband had made a gift to the State of the site of Names' Hill. After this program the party journeyed to Kemmerer where at 12:00 noon they were entertained by the Lion's Club to a fine trout dinner.

Leaving Kemmerer at 2:30 p. m. the party arrived at the border of Idaho on north highway 30, 12 miles north of Cokeville, where they met Governor Bottolfsen and many of the Idaho state officials to join with them in the dedication of a monument on the border line of Wyoming and Idaho. This monument was erected half on the Wyoming side and half on the Idaho side and commemorated the 50th anniversary of statehood of these two states. Mr. J. D. Noblitt of Cokeville acted as Master of Ceremonies. The program was opened with a selection by the Montpelier High School band and the invocation by President Silas L. Wright of the Bear Lake stake. An address, "The Old Oregon Trail," was given by Mr. Thomas P. Wilson of Pueblo, Colorado. Then followed the presentation of the monument by Governor Nels H. Smith of Wyoming and Governor C. A. Bottolfsen of Idaho, both of whose talks were enjoyed by the crowd of some three or four thousand people who received their talks with much applause. The unveiling ceremony was in charge of Mrs. Herman Teichert of Cokeville and Mrs. Ed. C. Rich of Montpelier. The acceptance of the monument was made in very inspiring responses by Mrs. M. B. Nash, Idaho State Historian, and Mr. Warren Richardson, chairman of the Wyoming Historical Landmark Commission. The benediction was given by Mr. Reed Dayton of Cokeville and the program was

brought to a close by the singing of "America" led by the Montpelier High School band. The commission and party left immediately after this program and spent the night at Jackson, Wyoming.

Saturday, July 6th, was spent traveling to Lander by the way of Togwotee Pass. At 6:30 p. m. that evening all were entertained at a very fine dinner at the Wyoming State Training School at Lander after which the Governor and the members of the State Board of Charities and Reform and others in the party made a complete inspection of the institution.

Sunday, July 7th, at 10:00 a. m. the party continued on to the Penitentiary State Farm at Riverton and at noon were served a delicious dinner of articles of food which were raised on the Farm. At 2:30 p. m. they left for the Big and Little Wind River Rendezvous where a monument was dedicated marking the place which commemorated the memory of the many pioneers who had camped at that spot. The program was in charge of the Chairman, Mr. J. J. Jewett, and the address of welcome was given by Mr. A. B. Conant, mayor of Riverton, and was followed by an address from Governor Smith. Mr. Weppner, on behalf of the Historical Landmark Commission, accepted the gift of the monument to the State of Wyoming. The program was brought to a close by the singing of "America." This being the last dedication the party then dispersed and left for their homes.

August Tour

August 15th the party arrived at Fort Laramie at 9:45 a. m., all members of the Commission present. Mr. Weppner acted as chairman of the dedicatorial program which was held on the front porch of old Bedlam. He first called upon Mr. Warren Richardson who made the speech dedicating the "Portugee" Phillips monument. This was enjoyed by all present as Mr. Richardson, when a boy, had known "Portugee" Phillips and his family. He related many incidents which occurred during his contact with them. Mrs. Ruth Joy Hopkins of Casper was called upon next and gave an interesting talk on her oil paintings of old pioneers which was on exhibition at Fort Laramie. Mr. Canfield, Director of the Rocky Mountain National Parks, including Fort Laramie, made a very good talk on the rehabilitation of Fort Laramie. He, like all others, expressed the hope that the government would completely restore it. The chairman then called on Mr. Robert Ellison of Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Mr. B. B. Brooks of Casper, both former members of the Com-

mission, who responded with interesting reminiscences of their early days at old Fort Laramie. Among those present at the dedication who were introduced to the audience was a nephew of "Portugee" Phillips, Mr. Gomez and his wife. Mr. Howard R. Driggs, President of the Oregon Trail Association, was called upon and spoke in behalf of the many members of the Association who had arrived in a caravan of automobiles from the East to be present at the dedication. The Commission extended an invitation to the Association to join them and continue with the dedicatorial tour.

The party then left for Lusk where they arrived at 1:00 p. m. and were entertained at luncheon by the Lions Club. After luncheon all attended the dedication of the Texas Trail monument, some three miles east of Lusk on highway 20. This monument was sponsored by the Lions Club of Lusk. Mr. Hans Gatchshi acted as chairman and called on many of the old timers who had followed cattle up the Trail. All made interesting talks. Mr. John Charles Thompson gave a fine address in which he told of the many cattle outfits who were pioneers in the cattle industry in Wyoming. Mr. Richardson accepted the monument in behalf of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming.

Immediately after this dedication the party drove one mile west of Lusk where Mr. James Griffith, who sponsored the erection of the Lathrop monument, gave a fine eulogy to Mr. Lathrop, one of the outstanding stage drivers of the old Deadwood-Cheyenne line. Mr. Griffith, on behalf of the contributors of this monument, presented it to the State. That evening at 7:00 p. m. the party was entertained at a nearby river park to a real western barbecue picnic, sponsored by the Lions Club. This, of course, was a special treat to the members of the Oregon Trail Association from the East.

The next morning the Commission and party, some 40 or 50 in number, left Lusk at 7:00 a. m. August 16th and traveled to Buffalo where at 2:00 p. m. they attended a dedication of the DeSmet monument on the shore of Lake DeSmet. This monument was sponsored by a committee from Sheridan and Johnson counties composed of W. H. Edelman, Sheridan chairman, Dr. Frackelton of Sheridan, and T. J. Gatehell, Bert Griggs and Jesse Keith, all of Buffalo. Mr. George Layman, one of Sheridan's prominent attorneys, acted as chairman. The program was opened with a prayer by Father Short of Sheridan and the singing of "America," led by Mr. Flynn and a chorus. Mr. Layman introduced Father Brady, pastor of Buffalo, who gave an inspiring address in which he told of the good work of Father DeSmet not only as a

Catholic missionary but as a government agent, having made many important treaties with the Indians for the government. Mr. Layman presented the monument which was accepted by Mr. Weppner in behalf of the Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming. Mr. Bert Griggs and Mr. Howard Driggs were called upon and both gave fine talks.

The Commission and party left at 3:00 p. m. and drove up the highway to the "Portugee" Phillips marker near old Fort Kearny where a second program was carried out. This marker commemorated the start of the famous ride of "Portugee" Phillips to Fort Laramie. Mr. George Layman also acted as Chairman for this program, introducing first Mr. Robert Ellison of Tulsa, former member of the Commission, who gave a very authentic and interesting account of the ride of "Portugee" Phillips and the massacre of Fetterman and his soldiers and the beleaguered Fort Kearny. Mr. Richardson made a short talk and the chairman introduced many of the old timers who were present.

The party then continued to Ranchester to the Connor Battlefield monument where at 7:00 p. m. a program dedicating this monument was carried out. Mr. Weppner acted as chairman introducing first Mr. John C. Thompson who gave the history of the battlefield. Mr. Robert Ellison added an historical bit on Major Connor and his achievement at the time of the battle. After this dedication the party journeyed on to Dayton where they spent the night.

The journey took up again the next morning, August the 17th, and included a trip over the Big Horn mountains through the beautiful Shell Canyon and on into Cody, arriving there at 12:00 noon. Immediately upon arrival a dedication followed of the new road leading from the edge of the town to the Buffalo Bill monument. This dedication was sponsored by many civic organizations of Cody and the Montana-Wyoming Oldtime Cowboys Association who were holding their convention in Cody at that time. The party had lunch in Cody after which they drove to Dead Indian Hill, some 32 miles north of town in the Sunlight Valley, to attend the dedication of a monument erected by the Forest Rangers and Mr. W. A. Rollinson, an old pioneer ranger and cattleman. This monument commemorated the old Indian trail over the pass into the great hunting ground. This pass was also a later cattle trail into that country. A brief but appropriate program was carried out, Mr. Rollinson recalling incidents of his boyhood days and presenting the monument to the State of Wyoming. Mr. Richardson, on behalf of the Commission, accepted. That evening at 7:00 p. m. the National

Oregon Trail Association, the Historical Landmark Commission, the Montana-Wyoming Cowboy Association and the Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Association were entertained at a banquet at the Cody Inn. There were 300 present. Mr. Paul Greever acted as master of ceremonies and introduced many fine speakers from the members of the four different organizations present. Everyone had a most enjoyable evening and the banquet did not conclude until 11:30 p. m.

Sunday morning, August 18th, at 7:00 a. m. the Historical Landmark Commission and the Oregon Trail caravan and other interested parties left Cody by way of the Shoshone Canyon and dam and entered Yellowstone Park at the East entrance, going out the South entrance and arriving at the Berolzheimer's ranch at 1:00 p. m. where they were entertained at a Dutch lunch. Immediately after lunch the party moved on to Leek's place where at 1:30 p. m. a monument marking the old Trappers Trail was dedicated. This monument was erected and given to the State by many persons interested in the history of the Jackson Hole country. Mr. William Leek, 81 years old, one of the pioneers in the Jackson Hole Country gave a most interesting talk of his boyhood days when he had arrived in Jackson 60 years ago. W. H. Jackson, 97 years old, who was the official photographer of the Hayden Expedition in Jackson Hole in 1870, also told of his experiences in those early days. The Commission and party then journeyed to Turpin Meadow Lodge where at 2:00 p. m. a monument erected in memory of Dick Turpin, one of the colorful old pioneers, was dedicated. Dick Turpin had left \$300.00 in his will for the erection of a marker and monument. Mr. William Simpson, chairman of the executive committee, gave an interesting talk covering the life of Dick Turpin and presented the monument to the State in behalf of the committee. Mr. Richardson, chairman of the Commission, responded and accepted for the State.

The Commission then adjourned to the Jackson Lake Lodge where they were the guests of the National Trail Association at a banquet which opened the convention of that organization. Major Proctor of New York, Secretary of the Association, acted as toastmaster. The dinner and program was considered a great success and the guests did not depart until 11:00 p. m. This marked the close of this dedicatorial tour.

